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THE BACCHIC MYSTERIES OF THE ROMAN AGE

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SOME years ago mysteries were a favorite subject of research in the religion of the Hellenistic and Roman age. Scholars were almost exclusively concerned with the mysteries originating in the Near East and Egypt and the mysteries of Dionysos were mentioned only in passing.[1] This is understandable, for the literary sources are scarce and widely scattered, the monuments are, though numerous, dispersed and very often difficult to interpret. Father Festugière included in his paper on the Dionysiac mysteries a lengthy treatment of the later ones, especially their organization, and Cumont appended to the last edition of his book on the Oriental religions in Roman paganism a discussion of the Bacchic mysteries,[2] in which his chief purpose was to show that they were

[1] I have touched upon this subject more than once, in my papers: Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten, Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft, xl, 1908, pp. 530 ff., reprinted in my Opuscula selecta, I, 1951, pp. 3 ff., En marge de la grande inscription bacchique du Metropolitan Museum, Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni, x, 1934, pp. 1 ff., reprinted ibid., ii, 1952, pp. 524 ff.; and Dionysos Liknites, Bull. de la Société des lettres de Lund, 1952, No. i. I have summarized my results in my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii. I must here repeat something said in these papers, especially the analysis of certain passages in Plutarch in the last one, but I held it far more important to collect the dispersed materials for a better and more reasoned understanding of the Bacchic mysteries which were so widespread in the Roman age but have been too little noticed. I have tried to collect the literary testimonies completely and the monuments adduced as proving something for certain. Many, especially the sarcophagi, are monotonous and difficult to survey. The volume containing them in the great work initiated by Carl Robert has not appeared, it is prepared by Professor F. Matz. A poor and incomplete substitute is S. Reinach, Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains, vols. ii and iii. The interpretation of many paintings and other monuments is so dubious and varied that they are more obscure than the mysteries. I do not adduce them, for my aim is not interpretation but endeavoring to work out what is certain or at least probable.

[2] A. J. Festugière, Les mystères de Dionysos, Revue biblique, xliv, 1935, pp. 192 ff. and 366 ff. F. Cumont, Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain,

influenced by the Orient.[3] He adduced many cults of Dionysos in the Orient, but these are not good proof. Zeus was as much orientalized as Dionysos, or more so, but was always essentially a Greek god, and so was Dionysos. The edict of Ptolemy IV Philopator[4] is known, ordering those who were initiated into Dionysiac mysteries to indicate from whom, unto the third generation, the initiations (*τὰ ἱερά*) had been transmitted to them and to deliver the holy text (*τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον*) sealed with names written on it. Whether these Dionysiac mysteries were Egyptianized or not we do not know. The Greeks kept even in Egypt to Greek religion and Orphism was active there. We have a papyrus of the third century B.C. describing an initiation (*τελετή*) and permeated with Orphic myths.[5]

The Bacchic mysteries of the Roman age were of Greek origin. This is proved by the many titles of officials which were taken from the old orgia or derived from other Greek mystery cults.[6] They originated in the Hellenistic age. At least in Asia Minor, not to speak of the Delphic Thyiades, the old orgia were still celebrated and even new ones of the old type were instituted.[7] A tomb epigram, ascribed to Dioscorides who lived in the middle of the Hellenistic age, describes the orgia of the Thyiades at Amphi-

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4th ed. 1929, pp. 195 ff., Les mystères de Bacchus à Rome. H. Jeanmaire, Dionysos, 1951, ends with a chapter on the Hellenistic and Roman age; he distinguishes the old and the new forms of Bacchic mysteries and is especially interested in the political implications of the latter.

[3] In the lengthy passage on the Bacchic mysteries in his last work, Cumont, Lux perpetua, pp. 250 ff., he seems to have changed his opinion, since he does not speak of their Oriental origin.

[4] See my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, p. 153 with notes.

[5] Published by Smyly, see ibid. ii, p. 239.

[6] See my paper En marge etc., summarized in my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, pp. 343 ff.

[7] Institution of orgia Inschriften von Magnesia a.M., No. 215; cf. my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, i, pp. 542 ff. Celebrated at Miletus according to a late Hellenistic epigram engraved on the base of a statue, published by Wiegand, Vierter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen etc. Sitz.-ber. der Akademie Berlin, 1905, p. 547, repeated by Haussoullier, Bacchantes milésiennes, Rev. des études grecques, xxxii, 1919, p. 256; from late Hellenistic age. As it is little known I print it.

τὴν στήλην χαίρειμ πολιήτιδες εἴπατε Βάκχαι,
ἱρείην· χρηστῇ τοῦτο γυναικὶ θέμις.
ὑμᾶς εἰς ὄρος ἦγε καὶ ὄργια πάντα καὶ ἱρὰ
ἤνεικεμ πάσης ἐρχομένη πρὸ πόλεως.
τοὔνομα δ' εἴ τις ξεῖνος ἀνείρηται· Ἀλκμειῶνος
Ἡροδίου καλῶν μοῖραν ἐπισταμένη.

polis as customary, but the leader was a man.[8] There must have been some modification; it is a transitory stage between the old orgia and the new Bacchic mysteries. When the mysteries were grafted onto old cults of Dionysos they must have been modified and men had to be admitted. This occurred in Asia Minor, where in the Roman age Bacchic dances and performances were extremely popular and the designation as mysteries often seems to be but a *façon de parler*.[9] A survival of omophagy is recorded from Miletus.[10] The new mysteries did not know it. The great difference was that men as well as women were admitted to them, but they took over not only titles but also some paraphernalia, at least the torch and the thyrsus.[11] These are often seen on the monuments and there cannot be any doubt that they were carried even in the mysteries of the Roman age. Mysteries need symbols and a new symbol was invented, the liknon, the winnowing fan, filled with fruits among which a phallus is set. Earlier the liknon had no special religious significance. Just like other baskets or trays, it was used for bringing offerings and gifts and even the mask of Dionysos at the Choes, but it did not belong to the category of sacred utensils.[12] Now it became the *mystica vannus*

[8] Anthologia palatina, vii, 485

εἰς Ἀλεξιμένην ὀργιοφάντην.
βάλλεθ' ὑπὲρ τύμβου πολιὰ κρίνα καὶ τὰ συνήθη
τύμπαν' ἐπὶ στήλῃ ῥήσσετ Ἀλεξιμένους
καὶ περιδινήσασθε μακρῆς ἀνελίγματα χαίτης
Στρυμονίην ἄφετοι Θυίαδες ἀμφὶ πόλιν
ἥ γλυκερὰ πνεύσαντος ἐφ' ὑμετέροισιν † αδαπταις
πολλάκι πρὸς μαλακοὺς τούσδ' ἐχόρευε νόμους

† The letters are not intelligible, this may be marked by a † before them.

[9] Cf. below pp. 188 f.; see my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, pp. 94 and 341 ff.

[10] Th. Wiegand, Sechster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen etc., Abhandlungen der Akad. Berlin, Anhang, 1908, pp. 22 ff.; quoted in my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, p. 145, n. 2.

[11] The thyrsus is expressly mentioned in the statutes of the Iobacchi, Syll. inscr. graec., 3rd ed., No. 1109, l. 139.

[12] See my Dionysos Liknites, pp. 4 ff. Unfortunately the paper of F. Sartori, Il cratere della tomba 128 nella necropoli di Spina, Rendiconti dell'accademia dei Lincei, v, 1950, pp. 233 ff., came to my hands too late. He brings a detailed description and the best reproductions of the paintings. Neither his reading of the inscriptions: Bacchos, (Demeter) Chloe, nor his interpretation is acceptable. He refers the representation to the Eleusinian cult, especially to the festival of the Chloia which is attested at Eleusis. But Bacchic frenzy was foreign to Eleusis and certainly also to the agrarian festival of the Chloia, of which we know nothing but what the name indicates. His attempt to account for the lion on the outstretched arm of the goddess through equating her with Artemis is not successful. The lion belongs of course to the entourage of Dionysos. Here the liknon carried

Iacchi. The liknon was a symbol of the conferring of purification and fertility, as explained by Servius [13] — one might say of purity and good luck, for it may be doubted whether the urbanized people of the age had a real understanding of what fertility meant, as did the old agrarian people. The sacral use of the liknon spread widely. Three female liknon-carriers (λικναφόροι) and one φαλλοφόρος appear among the personnel of the Bacchic mysteries instituted by Agrippinilla in Rome.[14] This is seen on many monuments from the Roman age. Certain terracottas, commonly known under the name of Campana reliefs, made for decorating buildings, perhaps especially minor temples, and most of which belong to the time of the first emperors, are of great interest; [15] we shall repeatedly come back to them. Two series are especially noteworthy, as representing mystery scenes: one shows the preliminary initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, another scenes from the Bacchic mysteries. One type shows a satyr bringing the unveiled liknon with its fruits and phallus, the mystagogue holds with both hands the head of the person being initiated; he is leaning over so that he cannot look up. Probably the liknon was to be placed on his head.[16] A gladiatorial helmet found at Pompeii has a similar scene.[17] On an amphora in glass relief the liknon is carried on the veiled head of a boy who, of course, is to be initiated.[18] The liknon was also transferred to the preliminary initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries; some monuments show it held above the head of the initiate.[19] The culminating point of the Bacchic rites was the revealing of the liknon with its contents. A stucco relief from the Villa Farnesina in Rome shows a boy with

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on the head by one of the women is of interest. It is wholly covered by a cloth, but there is no phallus, no protuberance in the middle.

[13] Servius ad Virg. Georgica, i, v. 166.

[14] A. Vogliano et F. Cumont, La grande iscrizione bacchica del Metropolitan Museum, Amer. J. of Archaeology, xxvii, 1933, pp. 215 ff.

[15] They are published in the great work of H. von Rohden und H. Winnefeld, Die antiken Terrakotten, vol. iv, Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit, 1. Text, 2. Plates.

[16] Op. cit., pl. cxxxix, 2.

[17] Rostovtzeff, Mystic Italy, pl. xx to p. 94.

[18] Cumont, Les religions orientales, 4 ed., fig. 13, p. 202; and in G. E. Rizzo, Dionysos Mystes, Memoria dell' accademia di archeologia etc. di Napoli, 1915, fig. 11, p. 57; this paper has good plates of the fresco in the Villa Item and many text figures referring to the monuments treated here.

[19] Enumerated in my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, i, p. 620, n. 1 at the end.

veiled head holding a thyrsus. A woman, the mystagogue, lays her hand on his head, before him stands a man, who on questionable grounds, is said to be a Silen; he seems to be taking off the covering from the liknon.[20] Best known is the scene on the great fresco of the Villa Item at Pompeii where a woman is uncovering the liknon. Still more explicit is a Campana relief on which a kneeling woman has uncovered the liknon with its fruits and phallus; she takes hold of the dress of a winged woman who tries to escape hurriedly; behind her is a young man, called a Satyr, from whose shoulder a panther skin (as it seems) hangs down. The same scene on the mosaic from Cuicul is really crude, the woman grasping the big phallus with her hand.[21]

We have seen on certain of the monuments quoted that boys were initiated into the Bacchic mysteries.[22] The rhetor Himerius delivered a commemorative speech for his son Rufinus who died when still an infant at the breast and intimated that he was to be initiated into the Bacchic mysteries.[23] How were children initiated when they were too small to take part in any ceremonies themselves and perhaps even to walk? I think by being placed in a liknon, just like the child Dionysos, and being swung in it, I have inferred this rite from the relief on one of the small ends of a sarcophagus in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.[24] Two men with torches, one youthful and the other bearded, carry between them a liknon, in which a child is seated. There is nothing mythical about the men. On a sarcophagus in the Museum

[20] Cumont, op. cit., pl. xvi, 1.

[21] v. Rohden-Winnefeld, op. cit., pl. 123, fig. 96; Rizzo, loc. cit., fig. 21, p. 81; also in M. Bieber, Der Mysteriensaal der Villa Item, Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, xliii, 1928, fig. 7, p. 308. For the mosaic see below, p. 201 with note 106. On the interpretation below pp. 200 f.

[22] Cf. Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains, p. 284, n. 2 and pp. 344 ff.

[23] Himerius, oratio xxiii. He says § 7, that the child had let its locks grow for Dionysos and asks Dionysos why he ravished the boy from his sanctuary; § 8, that the boy was initiated in the sanctuary below without his father being his mystagogue, a gloomy Bacchic feast; and asks finally, § 18, how he can trust in Dionysos who did not save the boy. It can hardly, with Cumont, be supposed that the child was initiated already, but it was intended that he should be.

[24] See my Dionysos Liknites, p. 7. It is figured in J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena etc. p. 524 ff., fig. 152; the whole sarcophagus in Reinach, Répertoire etc. ii, p. 443. The long side represents the Indian expedition of Dionysos, a common subject, and the other small end two *putti* on whom Pan lying before a curtain looks down.

at Naples the scene has been transferred into the mythical sphere, the child in the liknon being carried by Satyrs.[25] A Campana relief, found in several copies shows a maenad brandishing a torch and a Satyr a thyrsus, dancing ecstatically and holding between them a liknon in which a child is seated and from which a drapery, vine-leaves, and grapes hang down.[26] I think the inference is sound. Mystery rites were, when represented, generally concealed in a mythical guise, and the initiation by placing the child in the liknon was a most appropriate Bacchic rite. The initiation of children into mysteries is unheard of elsewhere, if one does not reckon with the παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας in the Eleusinian mysteries whose rôle is unexplained.[27] Their initiation was a comfort to loving parents, for, as Plutarch was,[28] they were sure that the child would have a happy afterlife even if it died at a tender age. The epitaph quoted below was engraved by a father on the tomb of his child, and drunken, happy children are figured on sarcophagi.[29] But their initiation depended not only on the sentimental love of children, characteristic of the age. It was possible because it had a starting point and support in the myths of Dionysos' childhood. Certainly people did not often have in mind the child Dionysos, lured by the Titans with playthings, rent asunder, and reborn, they thought more of the nursing of the child by the Nyseian nymphs. Scenes from this myth are common on Bacchic sarcophagi. Most explicit is one in Munich: the child is bathed, swaddled, fed, and played with. Another from the Villa Albani, which is precisely that of a child, shows it bathed, played with, and riding on a goat [30]; a third in Baltimore in the Walters Art Gallery adds the Bacchic revelry, and on the mosaic from Cuicul the child is tended and rides on a tigress.[31]

Plutarch's statement that the Hosioi perform a secret sacrifice

[25] I know it only through the mention in Harrison, op. cit., p. 524, n. 4.

[26] v. Rohden-Winnefeld, op. cit., pl. xcix and pp. 37 ff.; British Museum, Catalogue of Terracottas, D 525, pl. 41.

[27] Cf. my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, pp. 330 f.

[28] See below p. 186.

[29] Below p. 184 n. 42, Sarcophagi with drunken children e.g. Cumont, Symbolisme funéraire, pl. xl, 2 and fig. 102, p. 471.

[30] Reinach, Répertoire etc., iii, p. 183, 6, and ii, p. 74, 3 resp.

[31] K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore, fig. 2; the front relief of the lid has a banquet scene. For the mosaic see below, p. 201.

in the temple of Apollo when the Thyiades awaken him in the Liknon,[32] has been much discussed. Commonly it is explained by another statement in the same tractate that the Phrygians believe that the god sleeps in the winter but is awake in the summer and is worshipped with Bacchic rites, lullings to sleep and awakenings: that the Paphlagonians say that he is bound and shut up in the winter but moves and is unloosed in the spring.[33] These words are appended to a discussion of the seasonal agrarian festivals. Whatever their importance may be for the origin of the belief in the Divine Child,[34] caution is needed in regard to the time of Plutarch. The god awakening in the spring is Phrygian; in Greece there is no trace of him. The words must be considered in their context. Plutarch begins (p. 364 F) by saying that Dionysos as well as Osiris represents the liquid element. He then tries to show that Osiris is the same as Dionysos and appeals to the leader of the Delphic Thyiades, Klea, who was initiated into the *sacra* of Osiris [35] by her father and mother. To this purpose he quotes parallels: the Egyptian Apis and his burial rites on one hand, on the other, the Bull-Dionysos whom the Elean women invoke and the bull-born Dionysos whom the Argives (in the mysteries at Lerna) call up (*ἀνακαλοῦσι*) from the water to the sound of trumpets, throwing a lamb into the depth to the Gatekeeper (*Πυλάοχος*, viz. of the Underworld). The Titanika and Nyktelia agree with the rending in pieces of Osiris, his revivings and rebirths. The Egyptians show tombs of Osiris in many places and the Delphians say that the remains of Dionysos lie near the oracle. Then Plutarch adds the sentence about the Hosioi and the Thyiades and ends by saying again that Dionysos as well as Osiris represents the liquid element.

Apparently Plutarch has in mind not the god awakening in the spring but the Dionysos who was killed and restored to life again. This conclusion can be avoided only by supposing that the statement of the awakening of the Liknites, which is found in a second-

[32] Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride, p. 365 A *καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ὅσιοι θυσίαν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅταν αἱ Θυίαδες ἐγείρωσι τὸν Λικνίτην.*

[33] Plutarch, loc. cit., p. 378 F. I have done so myself, Gesch. d. griech. Religion, I, p. 546.

[34] Cf. my Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, pp. 492 ff., 2nd ed. pp. 564 ff.

[35] Plutarch, loc. cit., p. 364 E. *ἀρχικλὰ μὲν οὖσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Θυιάδων, τοῖς δ' Ὀσιριακοῖς καθωσιωμένην ἱεροῖς ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρός.*

ary sentence, is unrelated to the context. That is certainly less likely. The view advanced here is confirmed by a Rhodian inscription from the time of Caracalla.[36] It says that at the Baccheia some money was paid to the player of the water-organ who awakened the god (Dionysos), to women who sang a hymn to the god, and to the two descents of the god —; here the inscription unfortunately breaks off. The awakening of Dionysos occurred in the same sequence of rites as his two descents (into the Underworld). One descent of his was celebrated in the mysteries. At Lerna it was said that Dionysos descended through the Alcyonian lake to fetch his mother Semele, and the same story was told at Troizen,[37] speaking of the enneaeteric festival of the Herois at Delphi Plutarch says that it contains chiefly a mystic tale which the Thyiades know, but from what is done you would evidently prefer the bringing up of Semele.[38] The second descent mentioned in the Rhodian inscription cannot but be the killing of the child Dionysos by the Titans.

The epithet Liknites is rarely added to Dionysos. It occurs but twice and in the Orphic hymnbook in which Dionysos is especially prominent. In the 52nd hymn to the Τριετηρικός it is one of many epithets; the 46th hymn begins, Λικνίτην Διόνυσον. These hymns were composed for mystery cults and commonly end with an invocation of the god to come to the mystery feast (τελετή). The 53rd hymn addressed to the Ἀμφιετής is most important for our purpose. It reads: "I call upon Bacchos, appearing every second year, the chthonian Dionysos, aroused (here we have ἐγρόμενον again) together with his fair-haired nymphs, who, reposing in the holy house of Persephone, sleeps a holy Bacchic time of two years, but when he again arouses (ἐγείρῃ) the trieteric revel he turns to a hymn with his fair-girdled nurses (τιθήναις), now lulling to sleep, now arousing the times as the seasons wheel by."[39] It is to be

[36] Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts, vii, 1904, pp. 92 ff., l. 24 ff., cf. my Gesch. d. griech. Rel., ii, p. 347, δόντα δὲ τῷ ὑδραύλῃ τῷ ἐπεγείροντι τὸν θεόν τξ' καὶ τοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσασι καὶ [τῇ ἱερεί]ᾳ μ' καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ καθόδοις δυσὶ τον . . .

[37] Cf. above, p. 181; Paus., ii, 37, 5 and 31, 2, resp.

[38] Plutarch, Quaest. graecae, p. 293 c.

[39] The last line, εὐνάζων κινῶν τε χρόνους ἐνὶ κυκλάσιν ὥραις, is difficult. I have given the translation of Professor Rose but am inclined to the conjecture of Abel, χόρους (instead of χρόνους), which gives an excellent sense.

added that in these hymns Dionysos is constantly brought into relation to the Nether World, especially to its god Eubouleus.[40]

This clinches the matter. The Liknites whom the Thyiades awakened was the god of the biennial rites which the Thyiades celebrated. The Delphic cult of Dionysos was apparently at Plutarch's time deeply colored by mystery ideas. The leader of the Thyiades, Klea, was initiated into the Egyptian mysteries and the Thyiades knew a mystic tale referring to the rites of the Herois. The Orphic hymns are not very much later than the old age of Plutarch in which he wrote his tractate on Isis and Osiris which is full of mystic ideas. The god celebrated at Delphi at this time was the chthonian Dionysos who slept two years in the house of Persephone, as the Orphic hymn says, and was awakened to come to his festival.[41] But he is a child in the liknon, and the god of other Greek Bacchic mysteries is the full-grown Dionysos who fetched his mother Semele from the Underworld. The child Dionysos is only hinted at in the words of the Rhodian inscription of the *two* descents of the god. Must we infer that the child in the liknon of the Delphic Thyiades was the child of the Orphic myth? It is not certain at all. The nursing of the child Dionysos by the Nyseian nymphs was a very popular myth, often represented on monuments. Homer calls the Maenads "nurses" (*τιθῆναι*), although Dionysos in the myth told by Homer is a grown-up god. I am more inclined to think that the Liknites of the Thyiades was the child nursed by the Nyseian nymphs and to suggest that their awakening of the Liknites was the introductory rite to the orgia celebrated by them on Mt. Parnassus. The 53rd Orphic hymn strongly supports such a supposition. A rationalist will object that a child-god cannot be the leader of the orgia, but religious belief and rites are not concerned with such a contradiction.

[40] See my Dionysos Liknites, p. 15, n. 1.

[41] So Festugière, loc. cit., p. 210. The common significance of *ἐγείρειν*, 'awaken,' is the reason why the Phrygian god awakening in the spring, has been adduced for an explanation. The word signifies also 'arouse,' 'stir up,' see the 53 Orphic hymn. In the significance 'arouse from the dead' it is quoted in Liddell and Scott only from the New Testament and occurs also in the Septuaginta. The only instance of awakening a god which I know is the morning hymn to Asclepios: *ἔγρεο Παιήων Ἀσκλήπιε, κοίρανε λαῶν* (Inscript. graecae, ii, 2nd ed. 4533; see my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, p. 364), but this belongs to a daily divine service, and as such is foreign to the cult of Dionysos.

The god of the Bacchic mysteries at Lerna, at Troizen, and of the Herois at Delphi was Dionysos who descended to the Underworld and ascended bringing with him his mother to Olympus, and the child, killed by the Titans and reborn, is hinted at in the two descents of the Rhodian inscription. This may seem to be the best example of an idea, dear to scholars who tried to find a common background of beliefs in the mysteries of the Roman age, that is that the death and resurrection of the god was the prototype of the death and resurrection of man; thus the mystae would be sure of rising again from death. But this is not so. The adherents of the Bacchic mysteries did not believe that they would rise up from the dead; they believed that they would lead a life in eternal bliss and joy in the Other World. This life is graphically described in a remarkable Latin inscription from Philippi.[42] While we, overcome by our loss, are in misery, you in peace and once more restored live in the Elysian fields . . . (The reading and interpretation of the other lines quoted are disputable, but the text clearly speaks of the dead boy as having been welcomed either by tattooed Maenads or by the Naiads.) It is pictured after the pattern of the myths, and so are the representations on the sarcophagi. We see on them Dionysos and Ariadne or Dionysos in a car drawn by panthers, surrounded by the Bacchic thiasos (maenads, satyrs, silens), or the Indian triumph of Dionysos. It is not to be believed that Roman adherents of the Bacchic mysteries thought much of the child killed by the Titans and reborn or of Dionysos carrying up Semele from the Underworld; most of them were probably content with the Dionysos of the common myth. The representations on the sarcophagi offer an idealized and mythological image of the Bacchic revelry which the mystae expected in the Other Life, and there was probably something like it in the performances of

[42] [*tu placidus dum nos cr*]*uciamur volnere victi*
et reparatus item vivis in Elysiis
. . . . . .
nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystides ad se
florigere in prato congregant in satyrum,
sive canistriferae poscunt sibi Naides aequum,
qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas.
(l. 3 *ad se*, the stone has *aise*) Bücheler, Carmina epigraphica, 1233; Perdrizet, Cultes et mythes de Pangée, p. 96; cf. my Gesch. d. griech. Rel., ii, p. 350.

the mystery assemblies. A late author speaks of melodies and dances in the Bacchic mysteries, adding that thus the production of the unlettered ones is purified with play and joy.[43]

Eating and wine-drinking were certainly an essential part of the Bacchic mysteries.[44] Bacchus was now the god of wine and intoxication. Miracles of wine streaming forth in temples or from wells are recorded once from the Hellenistic age and more often from the Roman age.[45] The festival in Elis in which this occurred had the significant name of Thyia. A Bacchic association is called Baccheion, a word referring to a hall, and the Iobacchi had a dining hall. Artificial caves were made for Bacchic symposia and the two Keepers of the Cave (*ἀντροφύλακες*) in the inscription of Agripinilla show that the mysteries had such.[46] Bacchic revelry was sometimes public. Augustine says that even the decuriones and the foremost men of the city went through the streets in Bacchic frenzy.[47]

The Other Life was pictured as a Bacchic revelry. This quite materialistic conception was, as Cumont says,[48] not very elevated and the sensual pleasures promised to the initiated ones do not seem to be of a high character, but the masses were for a long time inclined to it, he says. The pleasures of Aphrodite were certainly not absent from the picture. Some sarcophagi present scenes of an amazing obscenity.[49] Caution is needed. The many Bacchic sarcophagi were not made for poor, but for well-to-do,

[43] Aristides Quintilianus, de musica, iii, 25, p. 93 Jahn, *διὸ καὶ τὰς βακχικὰς τελετὰς καὶ ὅσαι ταύταις παραπλήσιοι λόγου τινὸς ἔχεσθαί φασι, ὅπως ἂν ἡ τῶν ἀμαθεστέρων ποίησις διὰ βίον ἢ τύχην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταύταις μελῳδιῶν τε καὶ ὀρχήσεων ἅμα παιδιᾶς ἐκκαθαίρηται.* The last words are reminiscent of what Plato says of the Orpheotelestae, de rep., ii, p. 364 E.

[44] Cumont, Lux perpetua, pp. 255 ff., emphasizes this aspect, but it is not safe to adduce the famous paintings of Vincentius as a testimony. He was a priest of Sabazios, and though Sabazios was akin to Dionysos, he was considered to be a foreign god. See my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, pp. 634 ff., and my paper, A propos du tombeau de Vincentius, Rev. archéologique, xxxi–xxxii (Mélanges Picard), 1949, pp. 764 ff.

[45] See my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, i, pp. 556 f.

[46] Ibid. p. 345 and p. 343, n. 7.

[47] Augustin, epist., 17, 4, *decuriones et primates civitatis per plateas vestrae urbis bacchantes et furentes.*

[48] Cumont, Les religions orientales, 4th ed., p. 203.

[49] Cumont, op. cit., p. 311, n. 65, quotes Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, ii, pl. xliv, No. 548; Reinach, Répertoire etc., iii, 69, 6; cf. Anthologia latina, ed. Riese, 319.

people, and the splendid paintings in the Villa Item, the so-called Homeric house at Pompeii, and the Villa Farnesina in Rome show that wealthy and educated people were devoted to the Bacchic mysteries. They were, of course, refined according to their views. The college of the Iobacchi in Athens, although it is not said to be a mystery association — in regard to the loose use of the word it would not be astonishing if it had been called so —, comprised men of good standing; its high priest was the famous Herodes Atticus.

The horrors and punishments of the Underworld were not forgotten. In his polemic against the Christians Celsus compared them to those who introduced the apparitions and the horrors in the Bacchic mysteries.[50] Plutarch alludes to the gloomy aspect of the Other Life in his letter of consolation to his wife, written at the loss of a small daughter. He says: "I know that the words inherited from our ancestors and the mystic symbols of the Dionysiac mysteries which we both know, and of which we partake, prevent you from believing that anything bad or painful can happen to those who have passed away." [51] The important fact is that in Plutarch's time the Bacchic mysteries had symbols referring to an Afterlife corresponding to the deeds of the deceased ones. Horrors of the Underworld are not represented on the monuments, unless the daemoniac winged woman on the fresco in the Villa Item is such a figure.[52] The mystae refrained from thinking of them; they thought of the bliss of the Other Life. Instruction was given to the mystae. In the paintings of the Villa Item a boy is reading from a papyrus scroll and such

[50] Origenes, contra Celsum, iv, 10, *διόπερ ἐξομοιοῖ ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Βακχικαῖς τελεταῖς τὰ φάσματα καὶ τὰ δείματα παρεισάγουσι.*

[51] Plutarch, Consol. ad uxorem, p. 611 D, *καὶ μὴν ἃ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις, οἳ πείθουσι πολλοὺς λέγοντες ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ τῷ διαλυθέντι κακὸν οὐδὲ λυπηρὸν ἔστιν, οἷδ' ὅτι κωλύει σε πιστεύειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, ἃ σύνισμεν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες.* These seem to be strange words in a letter of consolation, they must be understood in their context. Plutarch begins saying that little Timoxena was content with little. The sentence quoted follows. He proceeds stating that the soul is imperishable and if it lives for a long time in a body is soiled by the contact with it and is invested anew (in a body). Little Timoxena who died at a tender age was free from such a stain, he means, and will have a happy afterlife. These are Plutarch's own speculations. Metempsychosis was probably foreign to Bacchic ideas of afterlife although Orphism knew it.

[52] See below, pp. 197 ff.

scrolls or tablets are seen on various monuments.[53] A painting from the 'Homeric' house at Pompeii seems suggestive.[54] An old man seated on a chair is speaking seriously to two women; one of them is stately and looks attentively at him; she holds the hand of a veiled girl standing behind her; to the right is Charon in his boat. Rostovtzeff locates the scene in the Underworld and interprets the two women as Mnemosyne and a soul. I wonder if it is not more reasonable to interpret the scene thus, that the man gives instruction to a neophyte who is protected by a woman already initiated, and to see in Charon a hint at the contents of the instruction; [55] they concern the Afterlife, perhaps not excluding its horrors. It may be added that the Bacchic associations paid much attention to the burials of their members. So did other associations, too, especially in Rome where many were founded for this purpose. Our information in this respect comes from Greece and it is noteworthy that the Roman Rosalia which had become a festival of the dead in Macedonia were sometimes connected with the Bacchic mysteries.[56]

We know very little of the rites of the Bacchic mysteries of the Roman age. What little is said was mentioned above. It may be added that the cista mystica from which a snake creeps forth appears sometimes, e.g. on a Bacchic sarcophagus in Rome [57] and on the sarcophagus in Baltimore. It was common in mysteries and may have been taken over by the Bacchic mysteries also. Three 'Carriers of the Cista' (*κισταφόροι*) are mentioned among the personnel of the mysteries instituted by Agripinilla.[58] To the same series of Campana reliefs as the revealing of the liknon belongs a plaque representing an offering of fruits by a woman on

[53] Rostovtzeff, Mystic Italy, p. 48 etc.

[54] Loc. cit., pp. 68 and fig. x.

[55] A similar symbolic intrusion of Charon in a scene of real life is seen on a white lekythos; Charon in his boat is put at the side of the tomb monument, on the other side a woman with offerings is standing, W. Riezler, Weissgrundige attische Lekythen, pl. 89.

[56] See my Dionysos Liknites, p. 13.

[57] Reinach, Répertoire etc., iii, p. 326, 5; the sarcophagus in Baltimore, see p. 180, n. 31.

[58] Pergamene coins, widely circulated in Asia minor, called *κισταφόροι* because the reverse shows a cista from which a snake creeps forth, refer to Dionysos, for they are surrounded by an ivy wreath, but perhaps to the cult of Sabazios who was identified with him; see my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, p. 163, n. 5.

an altar of stones, a maenad with a thyrsus and a tympanon and Pan playing on the double flute.[59] A fruit offering is perhaps also meant on a cameo.[60] The basket which the Silen holds up has not the peculiar form of the liknon and it seems to be filled with fruits. The scene is transposed into the mythical sphere, but it is not unlikely that such a sacrifice was really offered in the Bacchic mysteries.

There is an important kind of performance which with a certain probability may be assigned to the Bacchic mysteries, namely that members acted as gods, spoke, or sang. It is enjoined on the members of the Iobacchi, who come very near to a Bacchic mystery association, to speak and perform their parts (μερισμούς) on the order of the priest or the archibacchos. This is specified below where it is said that parts (μερῶν) are to be enacted by certain officials and gods. These are enumerated: Dionysos, Kore, Palaimon, Aphrodite, Proteurhythmos — the syncretism is apparent —, these names are to be distributed by lot.[61] A very mutilated inscription from Ephesus, relating to the cult of Dionysos, Zeus Panhellenios (dubious restoration), and Hephaistos, continues in enumeration of some Bacchic names and a series of gods.[62] Quandt concludes that they relate to a sacred play. That may be probable, but is not certain. Further, an association of actors at Smyrna posed as mystae of Dionysos Breiseus,[63] and a decree of an actors' association from Ancyra speaks even of a mystic agon given by the emperor in a few cities.[64] We see how loosely the word 'mystic' is used. It may be well to recall the words of Lucian that the Bacchic dance being satyric had cast such a spell on the inhabitants of Ionia and Pontus that for-

[59] v. Rohden-Winnefeld, op. cit., pl. cxxii, 1, text pp. 54 ff.

[60] Described below, p. 200. I am not certain that a relief in the Louvre refers to Bacchic mysteries, Rostovzeff, op. cit., p. 80, fig. xv, better in Rizzo, loc. cit., fig. 13, p. 59. A naked boy approaching an altar carries on his head a low basket filled with fruits; it is no liknon and there is no phallos.

[61] Syll. inscr. graec., 3rd ed., 1109 ll. 65 and 121 ff.

[62] Greek inscriptions in the British Museum, No. 600; G. Quandt, De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto, Diss. Halle 1913, the beginning, p. 161; the names, p. 266.

[63] Corpus inscr. graec., 3190, ἡ ἱερὰ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρεισέα Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν καὶ μυστῶν. Other inscriptions in Quandt, op. cit., p. 147. Cf. Festugière, loc. cit., p. 267, n. 2.

[64] Quandt, op. cit., pp. 110 ff.; Suppl. epigraph. graecum, vi, 59 of the year 128 A.D.

getting everything they sat the whole day regarding Titans, Corybants, Satyrs, and Boukoloi. He says, even men of high standing are not ashamed of taking part in these dances.[65] In Athens such performances ousted the dramatic plays; they danced the epic and theological poems of Orpheus, acting as Horae, Nymphs, or Bacchants.[66] These dancers must have been attired appropriately to their rôles; it is not said that they were masked, but probably they were. The mask was, from of old, essential to the cult of Dionysos; [67] it even became the symbol of dramatic performances, which in principle belonged to the worship of Dionysos. Dramatic plays and probably their heir, the pantomime, which was exceedingly popular in this age, may be at the back of the dances mentioned. The testimonies adduced come from Greece, especially from Asia Minor. We are unable to say how it was in Italy. Many Campana reliefs have Bacchic masks.[68] I mentioned a relief from Verona and a painting in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii in which a mask is added to the liknon and dismissed them as actors' masks.[69] In the light of the above facts I am now inclined to suggest that, like the liknon, they refer to rites of the Bacchic mysteries, hinting at performances in which mystae acted as members of the Dionysiac thiasos. In the group next to Dionysos in the fresco of the Villa Item a boy holds up a Silen's mask above the head of the Silen who offers a drink to another boy. Is it a hint that the Silen is a masked figure?

It was said above that the Bacchic mysteries of the Roman age had probably taken over something from Orphism. It is demonstrable in regard to the cosmic egg: [70] Plutarch and an author about three centuries later, Macrobius, mention it and their wording is such as to refer to Bacchic mysteries of their own time.

[65] Lucian, de saltatione, 79.

[66] Philostratos, vita Apollonii, iv, 21, λυγισμοὺς ὀρχοῦνται καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρφέως ἐποποιίας τε καὶ θεολογίας, τὰ μὲν ὡς Ὧραι, τὰ δ' ὡς Νύμφαι, τὰ δ' ὡς Βάκχαι πράττουσι.

[67] W. Wrede, Der Maskengott, Athenische Mitteilungen, liii, 1928, pp. 66 ff.

[68] v. Rohden-Winnefeld, op. cit., pp. 78 ff.

[69] In my Dionysos Liknites, p. 6, n. 4. Th. Schreiber, Hellenistische Reliefs, pl. 101, and Harrison, Prolegomena etc., p. 318, fig. 14; Monumenti antichi, vii, 1898, p. 310, fig. 33 resp.

[70] I noted this briefly in my paper, Das Ei etc., p. 540, in the reprint pp. 13 f.

Plutarch first refers to the holy Orphic tale that the egg is older than the hen and comprises in itself the seniority of the birth of all; he keeps silence concerning the rest because it is mystic and continues saying that everything comes forth from an egg, quoting a series of animals, and ends: "it is not odd for it to be sacred to those who partake in the Dionysiac mysteries as an imitation of that which produces and in itself encloses all." [71] Macrobius says: "that it may not seem that I have exalted the egg too much through the word 'element,' ask those who are initiated into the *sacra* of Liber pater, among whom the egg is venerated so much that it is called an image of the world (*mundus*) because of its round and nearly spherical shape, shut up in all directions and within itself enclosing life; according to the agreement of all the world it is the principle of the universe." [72] This is plainly the cosmic egg from which the world sprang forth. I called attention to a painting in the columbarium near the Villa Pamfilia in Rome in which five young men are seen viewing objects on the table before them, three eggs.[73] The scene is explained by a reference to the old question whether the egg or the hen is older. The eggs are divided lengthwise in an upper light-colored and a lower dark-colored half. They are thought of as the cosmic egg which split, the upper part becoming the heaven and the lower part the earth.[74] Plutarch gives the answer to the question according to the Orphic doctrine: the egg is older than the hen.

Cosmic ideas were not foreign to the mysteries of the Roman age, but it may be doubted whether these were sufficient for

[71] Plutarch, quaest. conviv., p. 636 D et seq., *ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ὡς μίμημα τοῦ τὰ πάντα γεννῶντος καὶ περιέχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ συγκαθωσίωται.*

[72] Macrobius, Saturnalia, vii, 16, 8, *et ne videar plus nimis extulisse ovum elementi vocabulo, consule initiatos sacris Liberi patris, in quibus hac veneratione ovum colitur, ut ex forma tereti ac paene spherali atque undique versum clausa et includente intra se vitam mundi simulacrum vocetur, mundum autem consensu omnium constat universitatis esse principium.* P. Boyancé, Une allusion à l'oeuf orphique, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome, lii, 1935, pp. 1 ff., takes up this subject in a learned paper. Starting from the passages quoted he explains a passage in Martianus Capella, ii, 109 et seq., in which the egg contains the drink of immortality. His attempt to explain *mundus* in the quoted passage of Macrobius as Aion is not convincing. The vases from South Italy discussed pp. 16 ff. are a supplement to the materials collected in my paper, Das Ei etc.

[73] In my paper, Das Ei etc., p. 543, in the reprint p. 17.

[74] See the paper quoted in the foregoing note.

giving such a prominent place to the egg in the Bacchic mysteries, whose adherents perhaps were not particularly interested in speculative ideas. Eggs, even made of clay and painted, are often found in tombs and according to Juvenal an egg was a regular offering to the dead.[75] This custom had a deeper sense than a mere offering of food. The egg is always, even in modern folklore, conceived of as enclosing life-power; it looks like a dead thing, a stone, but life proceeds miraculously from it. As Plutarch says, it seemed to enclose and produce all and therefore it seemed to be the origin of all, the cosmic egg, and as Macrobius says, it encloses life. Life is what the dead lack and the egg was most appropriate to restore life to them.

It may be asked whether the use of the phallus as the principal symbol of the Bacchic mysteries might be better understood under this aspect. It was, of course, taken over from the many phallic processions and monuments in Greek cult which made it appear as the peculiar characteristic of the cult of Dionysos. It was shocking to the Roman feeling of decency, not so to the Greeks, and the Romans had been hellenized in this age.[76] But the prominent place of the phallus would be better understood if it had a deeper significance. The generative organ confers life; just as the egg it contains the life-power which the dead lack and need. Therefore it was set up on tombs.[77] Just as the egg it may have been a symbol of life-power and life. In a passage quoted above Plutarch speaks of the mystic Bacchic symbols which attested the belief in a life continued after death. Was it the phallus? Scanty as is our knowledge of the Bacchic mysteries we cannot be sure that they had not other symbols unknown to us — the egg does not appear on the monuments —, but the fact is that the liknon was their most prominent and the phallus their most conspicuous

[75] Juvenal, v, v. 84.

[76] Cf. Festugière, loc. cit., p. 208.

[77] Phalli were erected on tombs in the neighbourhood of Smyrna and in Phrygia, Athenische Mitteilungen, xxiv, 1899, pp. 7 ff., and in Bithynia and Paphlagonia, Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1939, pp. 171 ff. and fig. 40; a single instance comes from Macedonia near Strymon, ibid., 1940, p. 280. The custom was not unknown in Greece. A white lekythos shows a big phallos as a tomb monument, British Museum Quarterly, iii, pp. 7 f., quoted by Buschor on p. 107 of his paper, Ein choregisches Denkmal, Athenische Mitteilungen, liii, 1928, pp. 96 ff., where he treats of the great phalli erected in Athens and on Delos as commemorative monuments.

symbol. I think that the above suggestion is neither unfounded nor unlikely.

A series of terracotta protomae found in Boeotia and Locris and belonging to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are of great interest for the relation of Dionysos to the dead.[78] Some of them represent him holding an egg in the left hand and a kantharos in the right, in others he has not the egg, only the kantharos. Others, and they are more common, represent a female divinity who has various attributes, a cock [79] in the left hand and, at least in one copy, an egg in the right. These representations raise a question of great importance, but very controversial and difficult. We have seen that the Bacchic mysteries treated here were created in the Hellenistic age and took over from the old orgia titles of the officials, some paraphernalia, and the mythical apparatus, from the Dionysiac processions notably the phallus, but their relation to the dead and the World of the Dead is not accounted for, since Rohde's view that the belief in immortality had its origin in the cult of Dionysos cannot be maintained. Numerous terracottas found at Tarentum and Locri show that there Demeter and Persephone were chthonian goddesses and that Dionysos was associated with them in a chthonian aspect. And we have the famous inscription from the first half of the fifth century B.C. from Cumae forbidding those not initiated into the Bacchic mysteries to be buried in a certain place. In southern Italy Dionysos was a god of the Dead in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. In the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the third numerous funerary vases painted with scenes from the Underworld were produced in South Italy.[80] The magnificent

[78] See F. Winter, Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten, i, p. 248, figs. 3–5; the much more numerous female protomae pp. 247–250. A good copy in the National Museum in Copenhagen is reproduced in my paper, Das Ei etc.

[79] The cock appears often on tomb monuments, but also in erotic scenes, see L. Couve, Ephemeris archaiologike, 1897, p. 69; G. Weicker, Athenische Mitteilungen, xxx, 1905, pp. 207 ff. According to Porphyrius, de abstinentia, iv, 16, he was sacred to Demeter as a chthonian goddess. The cock and the egg are often seen on the Locrian terracottas; see Q. Quagliati, Rilievi votivi arcaici di Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Ausonia, iii, 1908, pp. 136 ff.

[80] A collection of these vases is found in Wiener Vorlegeblätter, Ser. E; two are reproduced in Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, iii, pp. 1927 ff. The Canosavase, Wiener Vorl. pl. i; Baumeister pl. lxxxvii; the Altamura vase, pl. ii and fig. 2042 A resp. A new find see p. 199. Cf. my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, i, pp. 776 f. with further literature.

great amphoras belong to the later part of the fourth century. In the middle is often a building in which the gods of the Underworld are enthroned. They are surrounded by figures drawn from common myths: Tantalos, Sisyphos, Megara and her sons, the Danaids, Heracles with Kerberos, Theseus and Peirithoos watched by a woman with a drawn sword. The presence of the judges of the Dead proves that the thought of rewards or punishments in the Other Life was felt intensely, and punishment is dealt out by female daemons, they are called Ποιναί, Punishers, on the Altamura vase. Orpheus playing on his lyre is almost omnipresent, but Eurydice does not appear. The painter had in mind not the visit of Orpheus to the Underworld to fetch his wife, but most probably Orpheus' teaching about the afterlife, especially punishments and rewards. This suggests that these paintings may have been inspired by the Orphic poems, called Κατάβασις εἰς Ἅιδου, which contained old myths, but also added Orphic material.[81] Orphism was from of old widely spread in Sicily and South Italy; many of the alleged authors of Orphic writings are said to belong to this part of the Greek world. Dionysos does not appear on these vases, but they show how prominent the belief in the Underworld was in these regions, and in the same regions the chthonian aspect of Dionysos was most prominent. A bare century later the Bacchanalia were severely repressed by the edict of the Roman Senate in 186 B.C. It is supposed that they came from Tarentum, but it is very difficult to discern the actual facts in the romanticized account in Livy. There is no hint of any relation to the belief in the afterlife. So much is probably correct, they were a deteriorated and extravagant form of Bacchic mysteries.

Dionysos' relation to the Underworld and Orphism had old roots in South Italy and in regard to what has been set forth above one may be tempted to suppose that the Bacchic mysteries of the Roman age originated there. But they have other aspects too than the belief in the afterlife and they were widely spread also in Greece and Asia Minor. In Asia Minor they had a special

[81] See Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, 293–296, pp. 304 et seqq. The Nekyia in the eleventh book of the Odyssey has been said to be Orphic. It is not so, but it has certainly been a model of the Orphic poems, which drew largely on earlier literature.

character owing to the fact that mysteries sometimes were grafted onto old cults of Dionysos and also to the love of the inhabitants for dances and pantomimes. Plutarch gives the most valuable information concerning the mysteries in Greece; some mysteries celebrated the descent of Dionysos to the Underworld. His relations to the Underworld were older; the Boeotian terracottas show that he was a god of the Dead in the fifth century B.C. There was probably some variation in different countries and places. Owing to the scarcity of our information we cannot say whether there was a marked difference between Greece and Italy. It may be that they were levelled and simplified in Italy according to the taste of the Roman public. It seems that these Bacchic mysteries originated in various places drawing on common stock: the old orgia, the common myths, and Orphism. They were common and spread almost everywhere like the socalled Orphic gold-leaves.[82]

Orphism had a recrudescence in Hellenistic times and this age had a great propensity for mysteries. Orphism underlies the ideas of the Bacchic mysteries of afterlife. They had doctrines which were communicated to the neophytes; scrolls and tablets are often seen in paintings and monuments. These were probably, at least for a great part, taken over from Orphism which had a vast amount of literature. The banquet of the blessed dead, this old and deeply rooted idea of a happy afterlife was part of the Orphic doctrine.[83] It appealed to the taste of a public which was fond of the pleasures of life and did not take religion too seriously. We know almost nothing of the attitude of the different social classes to the Bacchic mysteries of the Roman age. Authors and inscriptions are almost silent. The Art monuments were made to the order of wealthy or well-to-do people. Personally I should be inclined to think that, more than to other people, they appealed to those who loved a pleasant and luxurious life and from education and conservatism kept to the old culture and its religion and yielded less easily to

[82] I have not taken up these because their contents is different, they do not refer to Dionysos. See my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, pp. 223 ff. A new copy has been found in a tomb dated in the middle of the fourth century B.C. near Pharsalus, Ephemeris archaiologike, 1950–51, pp. 80 ff.; Revue des études grecques, lxv, 1952, pp. 152 f. They are found in Thessaly, Crete, South Italy, and Rome, and their time ranges from the fourth century B.C. to the second A.D.

[83] This is well known, see e.g. Cumont, Symbolisme funéraire, pp. 372 ff.

the lure of foreign religions but wanted a little thrill of religion as a spice to the routine of life. This characteristic explains the popularity of the Bacchic mysteries among such people and it explains also why they have left so few traces, except for monuments, in the history of late paganism. They were not really serious about religion.

Death is a mighty source of religion and religious belief. Man fears death instinctively and wonders what will befall him after death, and his anxiety is increased by moral self-consciousness, as old Kephalos says in Plato. The Bacchic mysteries owed their popularity in the Roman age to the answer they gave to this deep-seated anxiety. They calmed the fears and smoothed over the anxiety, they promised the bliss of an eternal banquet. They were convenient for easy-going people who wanted to be freed from qualms.

Additional Note on the Great Fresco from the Villa Item.

In the previous pages I have deliberately refrained from using the many Bacchic monuments and paintings whose interpretation is various and dubious, limiting myself to such as are clear and useful for the understanding of the Bacchic mysteries, but the glorious paintings in the Villa Item are of such an outstanding importance that I feel bound to express my opinion, especially since I take into account a side of the Bacchic mysteries which is generally neglected. The opinion put forward by Miss Bieber and a little modified by Maiuri in his sumptuous work [84] that they represent the initiation of brides into the Dionysiac mysteries is not sufficiently well founded. The dressing scene inserted between the chief entrance and the large opening verging on the East portico is said to be the attiring of the bride. Nothing warrants so definite an interpretation. Erotes are so common in scenes from the life of women that their presence proves nothing. The separation of the scenes by the doors should be taken into account.[85] The scene in question is placed between the great en-

[84] Bieber quoted above p. 179, n. 21; A. Maiuri, La Villa dei misteri.

[85] See the plan in Maiuri, fig. 45, p. 125, and the sketch of the paintings, fig. 46, p. 129.

trance door and the large opening verging on the portico. Likewise the stately enthroned lady is separated from the rest of the fresco, being placed between the great entrance door and the small door leading into the adjoining cubiculum; this is also decorated with Bacchic subjects. These two scenes are clearly separated from the main part of the fresco which runs continuously from the small door to the opening verging on the portico, overlapping the two inner corners of the room. There is nothing indicating any relation to wedding rites. Behind this opinion lies the thesis of mystery theology that the neophyte was assured of his eternal bliss by being united with, wedded to the god; this is unfounded. There is another and more simple explanation of these two pictures, which are separated from the mystery scenes of the main part of the fresco, that is that they represent the preparations, perhaps of the Lady of the House, for partaking in the celebrations. The so-called mysteries were to many merely great banquets with a little thrill of religious ceremonies added, just as in certain modern orders. Clearly, people, especially the ladies donned their best attires for such an occasion.

The great fresco is commonly taken to be a representation of Bacchic mysteries, but this is also contested. In my opinion it is a mixture of actual rites and mythological material of a kind that is not rare and especially frequent in Dionysiac representations; let me recall the mixing of the wine at the Choes [86] and of the vase from Spina.[87] The series of scenes begins from the small door and continues uninterruptedly to the large opening. There is absolutely nothing mythical in the first two groups. The first shows a woman, a naked boy reading from a papyrus scroll, and a seated woman, seen from the back, who with her left hand uncovers a tray or dish, brought by another girl, and with her right hand she touches another dish in which a girl pours something from a small jug. It is a scene of offering. Then the mythical figures begin. A Silen is playing on the lyre, a boy blows the double flute, and a girl reaches her breast to a kid, below is a goat. It is a pastoral idyll of the kind loved by the Hellenistic age, transposed into the mythical world: the two youngsters seem to be Panisci.

[86] See my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, i, p. 555; cf. my Dionysos Liknites, pp. 2 ff.
[87] Described loc. cit., p. 6; mentioned above, p. 177, n. 12.

A figure follows which is difficult to explain: a woman running away in terror and making an averting gesture. Is she afraid of the next group which she has seen? A seated Silen gives a boy to drink and another boy holds up a mask over the head of the Silen,[88] the two boys seem to be Panisci. Now the culminating point is reached, the union of Dionysos and Ariadne on the wall opposite to the great entrance door. Most unhappily the upper part of Ariadne has vanished and the upper parts of two women, standing in the background, are also missing. Before them is a kneeling veiled woman uncovering the liknon. With her the most enigmatical part of the painting begins. Close to the liknon a daemonic female figure is standing, clad in a short cloth around her loins and wearing high boots, she has powerful dark wings. She turns a little to her right but looks to her left, holding in her right hand which is stretched upward a long wand with which she seems ready to deal out a blow. She looks and aims at a young woman before her who, clad in a dark cloth but with a naked back, is concealing her head in the lap of a seated woman who lays her left hand on her head and with the other makes a protecting gesture, she looks up to the daemoniacal figure with a terrified and prayerful glance. Lastly there is a dancing, almost completely naked woman clashing cymbals above her head and in the background behind her another woman completely covered by a dark dress, holding a thyrsus and looking very serious, even sad. The series of scenes comes to its end at the large opening verging on the portico.

The central figure is the daemonic woman. If she can be explained the key of the riddle is found, but the many and various explanations proposed that she is: Iris, Adrasteia, Nemesis, Erinys, Aidos, Telete, Ὁσία, are neither satisfactory nor convincing. I shall not waste space criticizing them. Scourging is known from some few Greek cults, but they do not help, especially since it has been proved that the interpretation of the scourging of the Spartan boys as conferring luck and fertility is erroneous. The attire of the daemonic woman is remarkable, the short loin cloth and the high boots. A short dress and high boots are worn by huntresses and on South Italian vases by punishing daemons,

[88] Cf. above, p. 189.

Ποιναί.[89] Like those the woman is a punitive daemon. Such were known in the Bacchic mysteries of the Roman age. The interpreters have overlooked the words of Celsus quoted by Origenes who says that Celsus compared the Christians, viz. their belief in the punishments of Hell, with those who introduced the apparitions and the horrors in the Bacchic mysteries.[90] The daemonic woman is just such a terrific apparition. If I were asked to give her a name I should suggest Dike, Justice. Dike is mentioned more than once in the Orphic literature. She is said to be a daughter of Law and Piety.[91] A passage in the first speech against Aristogeiton, which has been inserted among the speeches of Demosthenes but belongs to Hellenistic times, is especially relevant. The speaker turns to the inexorable, august Dike, of whom Orpheus, who has taught the most holy mysteries, says that she is enthroned at the side of Zeus and supervises everything among men.[92] Proklos says explicitly that Dike judges souls.[93] This testimony is very late, from the end of Antiquity, but if you consider that the Orphics demanded a moral life and that they taught that men's fates were different in the Other Life, then a judgment after death of the deeds of men in their life was needed. The idea of such a judgment is much older than Plato in whom the three judges appear for the first time. Pindar speaks of Necessity as a judge, Aeschylus of Hades or another Zeus, i.e. Zeus in the Underworld.[94] The Orphics who spoke so much of Dike made her a judge of the dead, a most appropriate function of hers. The wording shows that they took her from Hesiod whom they used much.[95] The

[89] Inscription on the Altamura vase; see p. 192, n. 80.

[90] Quoted above, p. 186, n. 50.

[91] Hermias in Plat. Phaedrum, p. 248 C = Kern, Orphicorum fragm., 105, ἡ μὲν ἐκεῖ (viz. in the cave of Nyx) Δίκη θυγατὴρ λέγεται τοῦ Νόμου τοῦ ἐκεῖ καὶ Εὐσεβείας; cf. fragm. 159; 160; 181.

[92] Pseudo-Demosthenes, xxv, 11 = Kern, Orphicorum fragm. 23, τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ σεμνὴν Δίκην, ἣν ὁ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας ἡμῖν τελετὰς καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς θρόνον φησὶ καθημένην πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφορᾶν. Cf. Hymn. Orph., lxii.

[93] Proklos in Plat. rempubl., ii, p. 145, 1 Kroll, = Kern, Orphic. Fragm., 158, ὁ Ὀρφεύς φησιν· τῷ (Διΐ) δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἐφέσπετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός. εἰ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀρωγὸς πολύποινος, εἰ τῷ δημιουργῷ τοῦ παντὸς συνδιακοσμεῖ τὰ πάντα, θεῶν ἄρχει, δαίμοσι συνεπιστατεῖ, ψυχὰς διαδικάζει καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς διὰ πασῶν διεξέρχεται τῶν ψυχῶν ἡ κρίσις.

[94] See my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, i, p. 775.

[95] Hesiod, Opera, v. 259 et seqq.

woman who, with a drawn sword watches Theseus and Peirithoos on South Italian vases is inscribed Dike.[96] Dike is rarely represented in art, but she appears as a winged goddess on a South Italian vase, of which large sherds with scenes from the Underworld were found at Ruvo.[97] The names of the figures are inscribed. In the middle is Persephone enthroned in a temple from which Vekata (Hekate) proceeds; to the left is Orpheus playing on his lyre; seated to the left Δίκη, above her a winged figure in a long robe opening a door, Δίκα. They are the Dike who acquits and the Dike who condemns, the latter is disappearing. Another South Italian amphora shows a scene of punishment in the Underworld. To the left is a judge, who carries a scepter with an eagle, similar to the one on the Altamura vase; then the goddess of the Underworld, and to the right an ugly winged female daemon clad in a loin cloth and high boots fettering a criminal. Another whose hands are tied behind his back is lying on the ground.[98] She may be called Ποίνη, and the same name may perhaps fit the daemonic woman on the fresco in the Villa Item. The name is less important, most important is the function of the daemonic figure.[99]

A wall painting in the 'Homeric' house at Pompeii is not inconsistent with this interpretation.[100] I repeat a condensed description. A half-naked girl is sitting on a four-legged seat in a

[96] On a fragment of an amphora at Karlsruhe, Wiener Vorlegeblätter, Ser. E, pl. vi, 3; cf. the Canosa vase. See A. Winkler, Die Darstellungen der Unterwelt auf unteritalischen Vasen, Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen, iii:5, 1888, pp. 12 and 36.

[97] M. Jatta, Monumenti antichi, xvi, pp. 517 ff. and pl. iii. The letters above the winged figure which Jatta took to be AIKA are rightly read ΔIKA by A. Dieterich, Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft, xi, 1908, p. 159. He points out that Dike is door-keeper in Parmenides, fragm. 1, v. 14 Diels, *τῶν δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληῖδας ἀμοίβους*. It is supposed that these verses are of Orphic origin; cf. Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, 158.

[98] Wiener Vorlegeblätter, Ser. E. pl. vi, 4.

[99] Some scholars come near to a similar interpretation. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa's Realencycl. d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft, s. v. 'Mysterien' p. 1312 calls her a kind of Erinys. Rizzo, loc. cit., p. 87, sees also a similarity to the Erinys and adds that the punishing and avenging daemons culminate in the Orphic Ananke and Adrasteia. They speak only in terms of a general probability.

[100] Rostovtzeff, Mystic Italy, p. 78 with fig. xiv. The paintings are so faded that certain details cannot be seen in the not very good autotypes, even with the help of the description.

thoughtful attitude; before her is a large krater.[101] To the right is a large shield. Behind the girl stands a veiled woman with her right hand lifted. Both look at a naked boy who holds before him a large tablet on which there perhaps was a picture. Between the boy and the two women stands, slightly in the background, a winged goddess with a palm branch in her left hand and a hammer- or key-like instrument in her right. She is looking with deep attention at the tablet displayed by the boy. The tablet seems to contain mystic symbols or writings, which the two women contemplate. The winged woman standing in the background is again Dike, symbolizing the chief contents of the mystic teaching, and the diverse fates of men after death. They are symbolized by her attributes; the palm branch is a sign of victory, the hammer-like instrument is reminiscent of the hammer in one of the rare vase paintings on which Dike is slaying Adikia.[102]

The winged daemonic woman is one of the apparitions and terrifying figures which were introduced in the Bacchic mysteries, reminiscent of the evil fate awaiting the unjust ones in afterlife. But salvation is at hand. Close to the left of the winged woman the girl is revealing the liknon with its contents, promising life and luck. The following act is represented on some Campana reliefs,[103] on two cameos,[104] and on a mosaic. On the Campana reliefs a young man is to the left, then the kneeling girl revealing the liknon, to the right a winged woman running away hurriedly. The girl takes hold of a corner of her long robe to keep her back, but she makes an averting gesture. The cameos are similar. Instead of the youth is a Silen holding up a basket with fruits,[105] and the object revealed is a bearded bald head, probably that of a Silen; before the winged woman is an altar. The dress of the winged figure is different from that of the figure from the Villa Item: on the reliefs a long flowing robe, on the cameos it is shorter, reaching to the knees. In spite of this difference the three winged

[101] In passing I remark that the crater had a conspicuous place in the Orphic writings; some Orphic books had this title. It is even called *ζωογόνος κρατήρ*; see my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, p. 584, n. 1.

[102] Roscher's Lexikon der Mythologie, i, p. 1019.

[103] v. Rohden-Winnefeld, iv:1, p. 52, fig. 98, pl. 123.

[104] Bieber, loc. cit., p. 309, fig. 8; Journal of Roman Studies, iii, 1913, p. 163, figs. 29 and 30.

[105] Cf. p. 188.

women represent certainly the same figure, Dike. You may ask why the girl revealing the liknon tries to hold her back. The mystae do not fear her any more, she may remain with them, but she has done her service, she is bound to vanish. The mystae should not be reminded of the gloomy side of the mystery teaching. Joy begins.

A very beautiful mosaic, discovered at Cuicul in Algeria and dated not later than the beginning of the third century A.D., is almost a repetition of scenes related to the Bacchic mysteries.[106] But the middle field is alien to the cycle if it does not hint at the punishment of the enemies of Dionysos: a man aims with a double axe at a recumbent woman almost naked; she is interpreted as the nymph Ambrosia killed by Lycourgos. The four side fields present a cycle of the Dionysiac subjects dear to the mystae. The first field shows to the left a woman holding a naked child, Dionysos, in her lap, to the right a half-reclining Satyr into whose mouth wine pours down from a drinking-horn, and in the middle another woman. The second field shows the child Dionysos, helped by a woman, riding on a tigress led by a Satyr. The third is a scene of sacrifice performed by an elderly man; the interpretation referring to the gift of wine to Icarios seems doubtful, it may be a common sacrifice. The fourth field finally has the scene discussed here. To the left a kneeling woman reveals a large phallus, grasping it with her hand, in a liknon which stands before her; to the right is a seated woman, holding a cista in her lap, in the middle a woman in a long robe, turning away and with both hands making an averting gesture. Leschi says that a trace of a wing is seen at her right shoulder, it is hardly perceptible and must have been very small; the other shoulder is irreparably damaged. The scene is the same as that on the Campana reliefs and the cameos. Leschi suggests tentatively the name of Psyche for the woman; this is improbable.

We return to the fresco in the Villa Item. There are finally the two contrasting figures, the naked dancing girl and the serious looking woman in a dark robe, carrying a thyrsus, in the background. I do not think that the naked dancing girl is a member of

[106] L. Leschi, Mosaïque à scènes Dionysiaques de Djemila-Cuicul (Algérie), Monuments Piot, xxxv, 1935–36, pp. 139 ff. and pls. viii and ix.

the assembly,[107] she symbolizes the joyful aspect of the Bacchic afterlife.[108] The contrast between her and the dark-robed serious woman is scarcely just merely an artistic device; she reminds us of the idea of the gloomy side of afterlife, and therefore she recedes into the background.

If the above interpretation of the great fresco in the Villa Item is right we have an actual illustration of the terrifying apparitions which, according to the testimony of Celsus, were introduced in the Bacchic mysteries. They gave a chill of horror to the initiation and made salvation appear the more blissful. This was the culminating rite of the mysteries the purpose of which was the assurance of a happy afterlife. The daemonic woman is no mask figure, she is as is usual transposed into a mythical figure; in the mystery rites her part was played by some masked mystes. After she had vanished and the mystae were sure of their fate, the joyful part of the feast could begin, a mitigated imitation of the Bacchic revelry which afterlife would bring.

Postscript. After my manuscript had been sent to the editor F. Matz, 'Eine bacchische Gruppe,' Akademie der Wissenschaften Mainz, Abhandlungen, 1952, No. 5, came into my hands through the kindness of the author. He treats especially of some sarcophagi showing Dionysos and Ariadne on a car accompanied by Satyrs etc. and thinks: *"Jedenfalls spiegeln diese Bilder spätestens schon zur hellenistischer Zeit in den griechischen Städten wirklich begangene Umzüge wider, deren Ausstattung von den Kultvereinen, namentlich von den dionysischen Techniten, bestritten wurde."* (p. 403).

Further: 'Der Gott auf dem Elefantemwagen,' ibid. No. 10.

[107] If she is not hired. Such a one is certainly the naked dancing girl at a banquet on a stele from Mysia; see my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, pl. 14, 3 and p. 639.

[108] A striking instance is a tomb monument in the museum of Arlon: within a curtained recess stand two men and two women, probably two brothers and their wives, at the sides are a naked dancing Bacchant clapping the castanets and a Satyr holding up a bunch of grapes. Similar small naked figures adorn the panels of the angle pilasters. Excellently reproduced in Mrs. A. Strong, Apotheosis and Afterlife, pls. xxv, and xxvi, pp. 200 ff.

CHRYSOSTOM AND SYMEON (Acts xv, 14)

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The circumstances and the proceedings of the Council of Jerusalem, as they are presented in the Acts of the Apostles, will come readily to every reader's mind. Gentile converts at Antioch had been disturbed by Judaeo-Christians who insisted on the rite of circumcision; so that a delegation was sent from the Syrian community to consult the apostles and presbyters of the mother church. Paul and Barnabas, veteran missionaries now, were chosen to lead the band. The session in the Holy City opened with a general discussion, which subsided when St. Peter rose to speak:

> Brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among you that the Gentiles should hear from my lips the word of the gospel, and believe. And God, the Knower of hearts, bore them witness, giving to them the Holy Spirit, just as to us; and He made no distinction between us and them, having purified their hearts with the faith. . . .[1]

A unique opportunity was thus opened to Paul and Barnabas of recounting to receptive ears in Jerusalem the wonderful works of God's grace among their neophytes.[2] It remained, finally, for St. James, the revered leader of the Judaeo-Christians, to propose definite measures, after an introductory discourse which opened with the words:

> Brethren, listen to me. Symeon has related how first God looked upon the Gentiles, to take from them a people unto his Name. And the word of the prophets agrees with this, as it is written. . . .[3]

A long quotation follows; then, the decree. The gift of St. Luke for recreating, in highly condensed epitome, the salient features of a situation, appears to unusual advantage in this scene. One could hardly imagine a happier course of parliamentary action — the assertion of precedent by Peter, the confirmation from experience by Paul and Barnabas, the crucial adhesion of James, rallying all to a decision.

[1] Acts xv, 7–11.
[2] Ibid., 12.
[3] Ibid., 13–21.

The sensitiveness of the literary artist appears especially in the style of James' discourse, the Septuagint coloring of which reminds us of the early pages of the Third Gospel. Notice the words: *Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ Θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.*[4]

Who is this Symeon? The name is pure Semitic, with patriarchal overtones. *Simon*, which is Greek, looks and sounds much like it, and appears to be used by Josephus interchangeably with it.[5] In the New Testament, we have positive evidence of such an interchange, in the opening verse of the Second Epistle of Peter: *Συμεὼν Πέτρος δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*[6]

That James should introduce his opinion before the Council by recalling the earlier testimony of Simon Peter, combining that apostle's authority with his own, is most in keeping with the occasion, as the author of Acts conceives it. Symeon's testimony, as condensed by James, corresponds admirably with Peter's. It is quite Lucan to introduce the old form, Symeon, with all its Hebraic associations, when James is speaking. The name has dramatic fitness, like Σαούλ, which occurs nowhere, for Paul, except in the direct discourse of the Voice from heaven and on the lips of Ananias, in the episode of Damascus.[7] Elsewhere, in Acts, just as Luke writes *Σίμων*, so he writes Σαῦλος. When formality is called for, in the angel's instruction to a Roman centurion about a man of whom he had never heard, we have it: *Σίμωνά τινα, ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος.*[8]

It is of interest to recover, when we can, ancient testimony

[4] Ibid., 14. On the text, see below, f.n. 11.

[5] Cf. The Jewish War IV, 159, and H. St. J. Thackeray's note (Loeb Classical Library: London-New York, 1928).

[6] "*Σίμων*" is here the reading of B and Ψ, to speak only of uncials, and is preferred by Westcott and Hort, apparently alone among modern editors. The great body of evidence, uncial and minuscule, is for "*Συμεών*". In the Latin Vulgate, a converse ratio holds: "Simon" (or "Symon") is the usual text; "Simeon" is exceptional (see the continuation of Wordsworth and White, Nouum Testamentum . . . Latine III, ii, Oxford, 1949, ad loc.).

[7] Acts ix, 4 and 17; xxii, 7 and 13; xxvi, 14.

[8] Ibid., x, 5; cf. 18 and 32. See, on all this, Henry J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (London, 1927), c. xvi, "Language and Style"; in particular, on variations of names, pp. 225–227. "The literal Semitic form of Simon Peter's name, 'Simeon', occurs only once, and that in the speech of James at the council of Jerusalem" (p. 227). Cf. Blass-Debrunner, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch[7] (Göttingen, 1943), § 53, 2, in both text and Anhang.

that throws light on exegetical questions in the Book of Acts; for it is rare. The earliest opinion we have, on the identity of Symeon, appears to be that of Irenaeus.[9] To illustrate the oneness of God in the Old Testament and in the New, he quotes the Council of Jerusalem, giving Peter's discourse in full. Then he writes, without a break, "Post quem Iacobus dixit, *Viri fratres, Simon retulit*," and continues with the words which sum up so well what Peter said.[10]

"Simon" may be the translator's equivalent for Irenaeus' Συμεών, or the author himself may have altered the name in Greek.[11] At least, he assumed the identity of Symeon and Peter, or he would hardly have brought the names so nearly together, in passages so closely parallel.

Our only formal commentary on the Book of Acts, from the patristic age, apart from fragments of St. Ephrem,[12] is the series of fifty-five Homilies, preached in the year 400, at Constantinople, by St. John Chrysostom.[13] His reference to Symeon is remarkable. Without debate he identifies him with someone who clearly is not Peter. So unexpected an opinion, from so important a source, invites consideration.

ii

We can hardly examine the relevant passage critically, without grasping the nettle of our text of the Homilies; for the readings vary. Let us see first the common text of our printed editions, according to which, after introducing St. James, Chrysostom continues:

Καὶ τί φησιν; Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου. Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο. τινὲς τοῦτον εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκᾶ εἰρημένον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἕτερον ὁμώνυμον τούτῳ.

[9] See, however, f.n. 11.

[10] Adversus Haereses III, xii, 17 (W. W. Harvey, editor, Cambridge, 1857: II, 69).

[11] The reading Συμεών is invariable in the Greek codices of Acts. In the Latin, however, "Simon" is widely read (see Wordsworth and White, Nouum Testamentum . . . Latine, Actus Apostolorum, Oxford, 1905, ad loc., apparatus). This argues an exegetical opinion identical with that of Irenaeus: Symeon and Simon are one.

[12] Frederick C. Conybeare, "The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts," in J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts = F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity III (London, 1926), p. 373 ff.

[13] C. Baur, Der Heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit II (Munich, 1930), 84.

εἴτε δὲ οὗτος, εἴτε ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι χρή, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὡς ἀναγκαῖα δέχεσθαι ἃ ἐξηγήσατο.[14]

The other reading, noted in the margin of Savile, is surprisingly terse. Instead of the entire passage, from τινὲς τοῦτον to the end, it has four words: ἐν τῷ Λουκᾷ προφητεύσας.[15] That is all.

Evidently this phrase is part of the sentence, Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο, which it modifies; and it is intended to identify Symeon unmistakably, but not with Peter. The longer reading reflects the existence of different opinions; Peter could conceivably be the homonym for whom allowance is made. Instead of clarifying the question, however, the author dismisses it as irrelevant to edification.

Without looking beyond the internal evidence, we may find reason enough to choose between these variants. The longer is characteristically an accommodating text. It would flow easily from the hand of a scribe who had too much respect for his author, on the one hand, and for dissenting opinion around him, on the other, to reject either. The short reading is disconcerting and categorical — a challenge to the temerity of a reviser.

The language of either reading could be Chrysostom's. It is not the literary style of the longer, but the style of mind that is noteworthy. "If he be this one, if he be that one, we have not carefully to inquire, but only to receive as needful what he has told us." This is the vein of the Imitatio: "Ask not who said this, but take good heed what is said." It is not like Chrysostom. He is not wont to take refuge from an exegetical problem by turning it into a question of piety. The inquiring, positive spirit of the Antiochian school in which he was formed is strong in him. To make way for moral exhortation in his sermons, he leaves speculative theology largely aside, but not exegesis: that is the stuff of his discourse. Pietistic flight from a pertinent question is not his habit of mind.[16]

[14] Hom. XXXIII, i (IX, 253 D). References to Chrysostom's works, unless otherwise specified, will be to the Benedictine edition of the Opera Omnia. The page numbers are those of the first edition (Paris, 1718–1738), which reappear in the medial margin of the second edition (Paris, 1834–1839), and as bracketed inserts in the reprint by Migne.

[15] Opera Omnia, Henry Savile, editor, Eton, 1613, IV, 795.

[16] " 'Der Goldene Mund' von Antiochien und Konstantinople, Johannes Chrysostomus, der grosse Prediger, war zu gleicher Zeit kein leerer Schwätzer, sondern ein

So much, I believe, a reader of Chrysostom may without rashness affirm; but a final decision between the readings ought not to be rendered on internal evidence alone. What is the state of the text generally, in these Homilies; and how does it bear on the particular case? Fortunately, the larger question has been explored. Our variants are, in fact, a telling illustration of the two recensions of the Homilies on Acts, each of which has its own consistent manuscripts, while some of the later codices, and all our printed editions combine them. They may be described as the rough recension and the smooth, since it has long been recognized, and is easily verifiable, that the literary dress of the fifty-five Homilies is somewhat tidier in one of them than in the other.

The unusual diversity of the manuscript tradition of Chrysostom, precisely in this work, was remarked by the older editors; but it remained for Henry Browne, translator of the Homilies on Acts in the Oxford Library of the Fathers, to make a thorough investigation of the facts, and to draw adequate conclusions.[17] In the strength of his full collation of the two recensions, he convinced himself that the smooth recension is a systematic revision of the rough, from beginning to end; and that it is a late revision, inspired by a rhetor's mentality. The rough recension alone is authentic, since it is in sense consistently superior to the smooth.

In addition to the evidence from the manuscripts, Browne also called attention to the important fact that only the rough recension is represented in the many quotations from Chrysostom in the ancient Catena on Acts.

The present writer, in the course of a fresh investigation, satisfied himself that Browne's arguments were perfectly sound, and that they were reënforced by the state of the biblical text in the rough recension and in the smooth. As one ought to expect, the

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klarsehender, scharf denkender, sorgfaltig schreibender Philolog, der sich in die heilige Schrift vertieft" (Caspar René Gregory, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Leipzig, 1909, p. 369). There is reason to affirm that the Homilies on Acts were published without a final, careful revision by the author's hand; but his spirit as exegete is in full evidence. Take, for example, one of his general observations on the author of the Book of Acts: Ὁ γὰρ ἱστοριογράφος πολλὰ ἐπιτέμνει, καὶ πολλοὺς συνάγει καιρούς (Hom. XX, i [IX, 169B]).

[17] The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles, Part II = Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church XXXV (Oxford, 1852), Preface.

text of Acts quoted in the Homilies approximates our *textus receptus*, which was simply a late stage of the Antiochian-Byzantine development. The approximation is notably closer, however, in the smooth recension than in the rough — an obvious sign of revision.[18]

How does our pair of readings fit into this scheme? We have seen that the question of verbal style is not involved. It is the shorter reading, however, which we meet in the rough recension; and that is just where it ought to be; the longer, in its style of thought, betrays the reviser's hand. The case is a striking example of the superiority of the rough recension over the smooth, in their respective claims to authenticity.

iii

The longer text has its interest, however: it bears witness to the shock of surprise which readers would one day feel at the exegetical opinion of Chrysostom: Symeon, to whose authority St. James appeals, is Symeon who prophesied in Luke. Let us examine this singular suggestion.

As to the identity of Symeon, *ὁ ἐν τῷ Λουκᾷ προφητεύσας*, there would seem to be little room for hesitation. Chrysostom evidently assumed that his listeners would understand; and so they did. The Catena, in this case, not only reflects its usual dependence on the rough recension; but it completes the sense, by quoting the first words of the prophecy: *Συμεὼν, ὁ ἐν τῷ Λουκᾷ προφητεύσας· "Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, Δέσποτα."* [19]

In Chrysostom's opinion, then, it would be Symeon of the Nunc dimittis, whose name the Bishop of Jerusalem invoked so impressively, in opening his discourse: "Brothers, hear me. Symeon has related how first God looked upon the gentiles to take from them a people to his name."

For Symeon's eyes had seen the salvation which God had prepared before the face of all the peoples, a light for the illumination of the gentiles, and a glory of his people Israel. Between the old

[18] E. R. Smothers, "Le Texte des Homélies de saint Jean Chrysostome sur les Actes des Apôtres," Recherches de Science Religieuse XXVII (Paris, December, 1937), p. 513 ff.

[19] Catena in Acta SS. Apostolorum. . . , ed. by J. A. Cramer (Oxford, 1838), p. 248. The source of the lemma is by oversight omitted.

man's prophecy and the argument of James, there is a bond of deep sympathy.

No one who reads Chrysostom will object that such an identification, from so brief a phrase, *the one who prophesied in Luke*, lays unusual demands on his listeners. He continually assumes their ability to catch flying allusions to anything in the Bible, and safely enough, it would seem, in the present case. The lovable old man in the scene of the Purification would already be a familiar figure in Christian piety.[20] "With Symeon," said St. Gregory Nazianzen, preaching at Constantinople, on the Nativity mysteries, twenty years before Chrysostom, "we have held him in our arms." [21]

This identification involves a corollary, which is also taken for granted. Symeon is quoted by James in his rôle of prophet. "See how discerning he is," says Chrysostom of the speaker, "corroborating his argument both from the new prophets and from the old." [22] "The old" is a plain reference to the continuation of James' discourse: "And in agreement with this are the words of the prophets, as it is written," with the quotation from Amos following. "The new prophets," therefore, are represented by Symeon. A little later, Chrysostom returns to this conception. Whereas Symeon was well known (δῆλος) from the time in which he lived (ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου), but lacking authority because he was not ancient (παλαιός), James quotes also the ancient prophets.[23]

For the Judaeo-Christian community, Symeon would be a prophet, indeed, but of the New Law, not of the Old, as Chrysostom realized. He draws a more remarkable contrast, elsewhere, between David and Abraham, both of whom had received the divine promise. David, however, was in the mouths of everyone, both from his renown, and from the time in which he lived

[20] In Chrysostom's time, the Feast of the Purification was already celebrated in Jerusalem (Peregrinatio Aetheriae xxvi: Éthérie Journal de Voyage, edited by Hélène Pétré, in Sources Chrétiennes, Paris, 1948, p. 206). Symeon's prayer appears as a vesper hymn in the Apostolic Constitutions VII, xlviii, 4, of the same epoch (Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, ed. by F. X. Funk, Paderborn, 1905, p. 458; for the date, see p. xix). It is included in the set of canticles at the end of the Codex Alexandrinus (569^{r}).

[21] Oratio XXXIX, In sancta lumina, xiv (P. G. XXXVI, 349); for the date, see col. 333 f.).

[22] Hom. XXXIII, *in initio* (IX, 253 C).

[23] Ibid. (253 DE).

(*ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου*). The promise to Abraham, therefore, had fallen silent, because it was ancient (*παλαιόν*); the one to David was passed around by everyone, because it was fresh and new (*ὡς πρόσφατον καὶ νέον*) — this, in the generation of Christ.[24] Thus Symeon was *δῆλος ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου*, compared to Amos.

Up to a point, Chrysostom's opinion hangs together remarkably well; but it has its intrinsic weakness. James specifies the prophetic character of his Old Testament quotation; his previous reference is introduced by a term which is appropriate not to prophecy, but to narration or explanation: *Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο*. The verb, in the former sense, is used in the near context in Acts, of Paul and Barnabas, relating the works of God: *ἐξηγουμένων ὅσα ἐποίησεν*.[25] This settles its meaning lucidly.

Chrysostom is aware of the difficulty, and tries to surmount it: *καὶ καλῶς εἶπεν, Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο, ὡς κἀκεῖνον ἑτέρων λέγειν γνώμην*: *for he too reported the mind of others*.[26] His prophecy was so redolent of old tradition that one might say he related it, as Paul and Barnabas related the events of their apostolate.

Such an explanation is strained. It would leave one ill at ease, even if there were no alternative. If Chrysostom had recognized Peter in Symeon, he would not have come to such a pass. Given that simplest of all solutions, everything falls into place; and nothing needs explanation.

Nothing — except the difference in names: Symeon is not Simon. This is the point from which a false departure would be taken. Chrysostom was attentive to the form of names, and not in the least given to loose conjecture about them.[27] To a biblical

[24] In Mathhaeum Hom. II (VII, 24 AB; in Frederick Field's edition, Cambridge, 1839, I, 20).

[25] Acts xv, 12.

[26] Hom. XXXIII, i(IX, 255C). Chrysostom's license in the use of demonstrative pronouns is well known. See Field's edition In Matt., vol. III, Index II, s. v. *ἐκεῖνος*.

[27] His series of four sermons at Antioch, De mutatione nominum, is an illustration. Why was Saul's name changed to Paul? After much discussion, and the examination of parallels from Old and New Testament, Chrysostom, in sporadic passages, reaches the following conclusions: (1) Saul of Tarsus received his original name from his parents. They were not prophets; and it has no special significance. (2) It was important that he should continue to be known by this name after his conversion, so that Christians everywhere would really believe that the zealous evangelist and the former persecutor were one. (3) After his

question, he seeks, with unrivalled virtuosity, to find an answer in the Bible. Here is a cardinal principle of his exegesis, and of his usual soundness. In the instance, it allows him to go astray; for the sole proof in the New Testament that Simon Peter might be called Symeon was lacking in his canon:

> From his 11,000 New Testament citations, the following books have none: the Apocalypse, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John, and the Epistle of Jude. This agrees with the canon of the other Antiochians, including Theodore of Mopsuestia, except that he also rejects the Epistle of James.[28]

To test the point, with respect to the Second Epistle of Peter, which alone concerns us, we should examine an apparent exception. The Benedictine editors of Chrysostom, in their Index Locorum Scripturae Sacrae, include II Peter ii, 22, with a cross reference to the Homilies on John, where the unflattering comparison of the relapsing sinner appears in the following form: Ἔοικε τῷ κυνὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον ἐπανιόντι.[29]

In both the "received" and the critical text of the Epistle, we read τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα; the variant ἔμετον appears in a few minuscules and in a few quotations of the Fathers. It seems an obvious assimilation to the Old Testament source, the Septuagint text of the Book of Proverbs, which reads: τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον.[30]

From this great commonplace-book, Chrysostom quotes hundreds of times. Five times, in his authentic works, we meet the saying about the dog, always with ἔμετον. One of these, in the letter Ad Theodorum lapsum, is a full and formal quotation; and its total dependence on the Septuagint is unmistakable.[31] Elsewhere, the text is handled with Chrysostom's customary freedom. Montfaucon originally referred the paraphrase in the Homilies on

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election to the apostolate, it was fitting that the Holy Spirit give him a new name, just as the purchaser of a slave gives him a new name, to signify dominion. Hence Παῦλος δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ κλητὸς ἀπόστολος. (4) The name of Paul is significant because of the apostle and saint who bore it, not intrinsically, like Simon's name, Peter.

[28] C. Baur, op. cit., I, 262.

[29] In Ioannem Hom. XXXIV, iii (VIII, 199 E).

[30] Proverbs xxvi, 11.

[31] I, 32 C.

Genesis [32] to the Epistle; but, after full consideration, he retracted this ascription, in favor of the Book of Proverbs.[33]

In these free quotations, in the printed editions, we read *τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον*, the substantive agreeing with Proverbs, the possessive with the Epistle. We have one example, in the Homilies on Acts, where we know that both readings, *ἴδιον* and *ἑαυτοῦ* have manuscript support.[34] Such variants, in informal discourse, are weak indications, at best, of literary dependence, so easily might the orator himself, to say nothing of the scribes, substitute the one for the other. Tischendorf, in his apparatus on II Peter ii, 22, accepts the place which we have seen in the Homilies on John as evidence for *ἔμετον*; but he notes that the quotation is free.[35] *Ἔμετον* is a strong variant; and it argues Chrysostom's use of the Book of Proverbs.

Chrysostom never supplements the simile of the dog with its immediate pendant in the Epistle, *ὗς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου*, which would be equally to his purpose. In so robust an author, fastidiousness would be no motive for the omission. It would seem that he is not familiar with the Second Epistle of Peter, or that he chooses to ignore it. It left the slightest of traces upon him, or none at all.

We may summarize all we have hitherto said very briefly. No identification of Symeon, to whose testimony James appeals before the Council of Jerusalem, meets all the exigencies of circumstance and of context so aptly as the one in common possession: Symeon is Simon Peter. Chrysostom, missing the clue to this solution, launches a *δεύτερος πλοῦς* which is not necessary, and is not successful, in identifying Symeon with the seer of the Nunc dimittis.

iv

Stanislas Giet, professor of ancient church history in the University of Strasbourg, has recently contributed, to a literature

[32] In Gen. Hom. VI, i (IV, 40 AB). With this, the paraphrase In Epist. I^{am} ad Tim. Hom. V *ad finem* (XI, 578 B) is almost identical.

[33] VI, 309/10.

[34] In Acta Hom. XXXI, iv (IX, 246 D, last lines of the column. Cod. mich. 14 here reads *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον*).

[35] Von Soden and Merk, on II Pet. ii, 22, retain the authority of Chrysostom, without specific reference, for *ἔμετον*.

ever growing,[36] a study in historical criticism, L'Assemblée Apostolique et le Décret de Jérusalem. Qui était Syméon? [37] His answer to the question, Who was Symeon?, is very interesting. Since it is based on our passage in Chrysostom, and in conflict with views expressed above, it must be duly considered.

M. Giet questions the identification with Peter. "L'on peut se demander," he writes, "si l'identité de ce Syméon avec Pierre était anciennement admise"; [38] and he cites the text from Homily XXXIII with which we are now familiar: *τινὲς τοῦτον εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὸ Λουκᾶ εἰρημένον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἕτερον ὁμώνυμον τούτῳ.*

In these words, he finds a probable reflection of the opinions about Symeon held at Antioch, which had once been the focus of the controversy between Judaeo-Christians and Gentiles: "La tradition n'identifiait pas Syméon avec Pierre: on disait au contraire qu'il s'agissait du personnage nommé par Luc ou d'un homonyme." [39]

It is not, however, Symeon of the Infancy Gospel in whom M. Giet would find the object of Chrysostom's allusion. "Que viendrait faire ici," he asks, "le vieillard Syméon qui chantait son *Nunc dimittis* au temps où Jésus était enfant? Personne n'a jamais mentionné la longévité qui l'aurait fait vivre encore un demi-siècle!" [40]

There is another Symeon mentioned by St. Luke, in the Book of Acts, *Συμεὼν ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ*, one of the five prophets and doctors at Antioch from whom the Holy Spirit chose Barnabas and Paul. In M. Giet's acute conjecture, he would be the man — he, or if not he, a fellow Antiochian of the same name.[41]

This Symeon would be an eminent personnage in the local church, and deeply immersed in the problems that produced the Council of Jerusalem. How natural that he should play a cardinal

[36] It is enough to refer to The Beginnings of Christianity (above, f.n. 12), which marks an epoch in the critical study of the Acts of the Apostles, and, for later titles, to Dom Jacques Dupont, O.S.B., Les Problemes du Livre des Actes d'après les travaux recents = Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia, Ser. II, fasc. 17 (Louvain, 1950).

[37] Mélanges Jules Lebreton I (Paris, 1951) = Recherches de Science Religieuse XXXIX, 203 ff.

[38] P. 204.

[39] L. c.

[40] P. 205.

[41] PP. 205/6.

rôle in its proceedings. In the foreshortened account contained in the Book of Acts, his intervention has sunk from sight, except for St. James' allusion to it.[42] Such, in brief, is M. Giet's hypothesis.

Against it, a number of considerations inevitably arise. Since there is so little of formal commentary on Acts, in the early centuries, Chrysostom's passing remark on the identity of Symeon is of limited significance for ancient opinion. In one author earlier than he, as we have seen, the identification with Peter is taken for granted.[43]

The evidence that Chrysostom, in this case, represents the tradition of Antioch, is derived from the longer reading of the pertinent text: τινὲς . . . φασιν· ἄλλοι δε. This is the form accepted by the editors, but without criticism. If, as we have seen reason to believe, it is a late revision,[44] there is no proof that it reflects Antioch at all.

In any case, it would seem precarious to derive a significant tradition from words such as these, after more than three hundred undocumented years.[45] Chrysostom's opinion may well be Antiochian, and a critical one, according to the exacting standards of his school. He usually treats the early history of the church in Antioch, just as we do, on the basis of the documents we know.

What, then, has Chrysostom himself to say about Symeon the Black? He comes to the episode of the five prophets and doctors in the due course of the Homilies on Acts; and he has a remark about four of them. Barnabas and Paul command principal attention. Lucius of Cyrene is mentioned, and Manaen, the foster-brother of Herod, only to stress, however, their undistinguished status: "See by whom he (Paul) is ordained: by Lucius the Cyrenean and Manaen; or, rather, by the Spirit. For the less impressive the ministers, the more manifest the grace of God." [46]

The name of Symeon Niger had occurred, like all the rest of

[42] Pp. 206–210.

[43] Above, p. 205.

[44] Above, p. 205–208.

[45] With no evidence of a tradition, "Niger" appears in a list of New Testament names said by St. Epiphanius to be of the Seventy-two Disciples (Luke x, 1 and 17): Panarion, P 50 (ed. K. Holl I, Leipzig, 1915, p. 232, 9). I find no earlier mention of him, outside the Book of Acts.

[46] In Acta Hom. XXVII, i (IX, 215 E–216 A).

them, in Chrysostom's reading of the biblical text. He is the only one of the five who is never mentioned again. That is clearly not a symptom of renown; while a hypothetical homonym of Antioch is quite unknown.

Within the terms of Chrysostom's exegesis, M. Giet's elimination of the earlier Symeon is surely premature. There is no question of his presence at the Council. He is a prophet, according to Chrysostom, recent in comparison with Amos, as David was recent, compared to Abraham; and as a prophet, he, with Amos, has a place in James' discourse.[47] Here is no disenchanting sequel of his song.[48]

"Symeon who prophesied in Luke" serves very well as a description of the holy old man of the Nunc dimittis, well known as he was, and as the Third Gospel was, to everyone. It would be a most obscure allusion, above all in Constantinople, where these Homilies were delivered, to Symeon of Antioch, either to one otherwise totally unknown, or to one who could be so easily identified by giving him his own full name, *Symeon, who is called Niger*.

In full and respectful cognizance of M. Giet's contentions, for reasons indicated, I remained persuaded that Chrysostom identifies Symeon of St. James with Symeon of the Nunc dimittis; and that in doing so he is misled; there is no probability in favor of any Symeon other than Simon Peter.

[47] Above, p. 209.

[48] Chrysostom, In Matt. Hom. VIII, iii (VII, 124 A), notes that Symeon, at the Presentation, was nearing his end: *μέλλων ἀπιέναι*.

NOTES ON LIFE IN THE MONASTERIES OF MOUNT ATHOS

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Note: These six short papers should be taken as notes supplementary to my book The Monks of Athos; after each title I give the reference to the page of the book, except for the last paper, Learning on Mount Athos, as this stands rather apart. The material for it is drawn almost entirely from the published catalogues of the Athos libraries.

Papers:

I. The Symbolism of the Simantron: page 57.
II. Haircutting as a Sign of Adoption: page 185.
III. The Meanings of *μετάνοια*: page 201.
IV. The Miraculous Mist at Khilandari: page 287.
V. The Meanings of *εὐλογία*: page 329.
VI. Learning on Mount Athos.

I. — *The Symbolism of the Simantron*: page 57.

As in the west, the summons to service is in Greek churches given by a bell, and the church bell, perhaps because the Turks dislike bells and have frequently prevented their use, has a particularly Christian sound. But in monasteries, where the calls to the church are very frequent, for ordinary and less festive occasions the bell is not used; its place is taken by a special kind of clapper called a simantron, *σήμαντρον*. The ordinary simantron is a plank of hard wood, pierced by a hole in the center. In using it the monk carries it suspended by a cord passed through this hole and with his right hand he hits the end of the plank with a wooden mallet; this produces a sharp clattering sound. There is also a larger kind of wooden clapper called a *kopanos*, *κόπανος*. These are too heavy to be carried about, and are kept hung up in some convenient place. Besides these wooden clappers one occasionally sees metal simantra: these usually take the form of a half hoop of iron with a hole pierced in the center for suspension.

I have also seen a square plaque of metal used as a simantron; with all these a metal hammer would be used. In the very full entry in his glossary Ducange mentions these iron simantra; others too of brass.

The monk using the simantron walks all round the monastery beating it with his hammer. Often he goes round and round the church which stands free in the middle of the court; by the time he has finished this generally triple perambulation no one in the monastery is very likely to be asleep.

Everything in the monastic life has its *noema*, *νόημα*, its symbolic meaning, meanings not designed beforehand for any purpose of edification but rather what pious believers have read into an already established rite, ceremony or custom. It is thus that the simantron has gathered a whole series of symbolisms. The fundamental idea is that it summons men to go into the church, as the noise made by Noah's carpentry reminded men of their danger from the flood; with the difference that in this Christian ark of salvation there is room for all; the rapping of the simantron is like the noise made by Noah's hammer and adze. Of both the sound is an appeal to the sons of men to enter the ark: "Adam, Adam, Adam!" Sometimes to recall the two syllables of Adam a double hammer is used; this makes a kind of "postman's knock." This detail I was told by the Abbot of Karakallou when I was in the monastery. At Dionysiou, also on Mount Athos, the monk with the simantron walks right round the church, but in three stages; making a short stop at the end of each stage; the first part of his perambulation symbolizes Noah's call to reptiles and creeping beasts; the second the call to four-footed creatures, and the third the call to men.

In the monastery of St. Katherine on Mount Sinai when the simantron wakes the monks in the darkness of the night to go to matins, one hears, not the double rap-rap of Athos, but a steady series of thirty-three strokes, one for each year of Christ's life on earth. Christ sacrificed Himself for man thirty-three years; cannot man sacrifice at least some of his night's rest for Him?

In the Eukhologion Goar, page 560, gives a still more detailed symbolism, but always on the same lines. He tells us that there are three sorts of simantron: two of wood, one small and one

large, and a third kind, the metal simantron of iron or brass, this last much the most clamorous. The smallest, the little wooden one with its feeble sound figures the ancient prophecies, *futurorum simulachra*, hardly now to be heard among the clamor of the world: this simantron is the one used for the lesser services, lauds and matins. The bigger, louder, wooden simantron is a figure of the Gospel message to be preached throughout all lands and to be audible to all. The metal simantron, of all the three the loudest, brings to everyone's ear an inescapable sound, the trumpet of resurrection and judgment.

And lastly, Ducange quotes a passage in which the simantron is said to be a hidden allusion (*αἰνίττεται*) to the trumpets of the angels rousing men to strive against their unseen, their spiritual enemies.

In his novel The Cretan, Ὁ Κρητικός, Mr. Pantelis Prevelakis, II, page 238, says that when in 1898 after the triumph over the Turks in Crete many church bells which had been buried for safety were dug up, the sound seemed to be the cry of Noah to man "Adam, Adam, Adam." There are in Crete a good many bells from Venetian days, and Dr. Stephanos Xanthoudidis, the Ephor of Antiquities, used to tell me that very few of them had not at some time or another been taken down and buried to save them from the Turks.

II. — *Haircutting as a Sign of Adoption*: page 185.

In the monastery of the Great Lavra on Athos there is annexed to the main church, the katholikón, a chapel dedicated to the founder of the monastery, St. Athanasios the Athonite. It is in this chapel that the newly made monks take their vows, and a part of the rite consists in cutting off some locks of the novice's hair. Here I quote Covel, Some Account of the Present Greek Church, 1722, page 77: "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown . . . yet every one of them entring into their Novitiat had a little snipt cross made at first, as is above said, but they ever after suffer'd it to grow." It is for this reason that this chapel is called ἡ κουρά, The Shearing. My attention was first called to this because on

the wooden back of the chancel screen of this chapel is stuck on a whole collection of little tufts of hair.

The Greek office for the admission of novices prescribes the ceremony, but gives no indication of its meaning. The same ceremony, the cutting off of four locks of hair in the form of a cross, is a part of the baptism of infants. The hair cut from the baby I have seen in Crete worked up with soft wax into the form of a taper or of a cross, and this I believe is the common practice. All such hair, like other clippings from the body, must obviously be kept in some safe place. The baby's hair is presumably burned with the wax; the monk's hair is preserved in the chapel where it was first cut. It would of course be dangerous to leave such things about, for they might get into the hands of ill-disposed persons: witches can make the most terrible use of such things as clippings of hair or of nails.

But what is the meaning of this cutting hair from a man who is never afterwards again to have his hair cut? The tonsure as used in the West seems to me quite a different affair. It is renewed from time to time as the Greek cutting never is, and seems to be a symbol of the formal resignation of the world like the cutting of a nun's hair. This Greek cutting seems to me to fall into quite a different context and to signify not any kind of resignation but rather an adoption; in the service for the entry of a novice the word "adoption" occurs quite often.

Let us look at some other cases of the cutting off of a lock of hair from some child or young person and see what is its significance. Gregorovius in his Rome in the Middle Ages, II, page 174 of the English translation, tells us that the emperor Constantine IV Pogonatos sent to the Pope locks of hair cut from the heads of his two sons, Justinian and Heraklios, and this was a token that the young princes were to be regarded as adopted sons of the Pope. Gregorovius has taken the story from Anastasios, Historia ecclesiastica, 1729, page 31, and adds, on I know not what authority, that the locks of hair were preserved in the Lateran; just like the wisps of hair at the Lavra.

The same intention of adoption is very clear in the case of Charles Martel, who sent his son Pepin to the Lombard king Liutprand in order that "in accordance with custom" he should

cut off some of the boy's hair and by this act become his father by adoption. Liutprand accepted and sent the young prince back to his father with such gifts as the occasion demanded. This story comes from Paulus Diaconus, De gestis Langobardorum, in Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scriptores, I, page 567 (Lib. I, cap. LIII) and in Baronius, Ann. eccles., VIII, page 642, sub anno 684.

For more modern times we may turn to Miss Edith Durham's Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans. Here, on page 303, she writes that "Haircutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite," and she goes on to say a good deal about haircutting at baptism as a sign of dedication.

Miss Durham's word "dedication" is I think not to be pressed. The Balkan custom she adduces seems to me much nearer the idea of adoption into a new family than to the dedicatory idea of the western tonsure. The Greek babies are adopted into the family of Christendom; the novices on Athos into the monastic family; Charles Martel and the Emperor Constantine Pogonatos gave their sons' hair that they might be made adopted sons, the one of Liutprand and the other of the Pope.

In the west Lady Charlotte Guest sees the same process of adoption in the Welsh *Mabinogion*. On page 219 of her translation we read that a boy was sent to King Arthur with a request that the king would cut his hair. The text says no more, but in a note, page 260, we are told that in the eighth century it was a custom to ask persons of distinction to cut a child's hair and so become a spiritual parent or godfather. Her note goes on to mention the Emperor Constantine and his son Heraclios, but how far her interpretation of the Welsh story is justified is not very clear. But that it is probably sound is suggested by the presence of the idea in the practice of medieval witchcraft, in so many points an impious parody of Christian rites. On the ceremony of the admission of a new witch Montague Summers wrote in his A Popular History of Witchcraft, page 21: "Another detail in the profession is that the witches give the devil either a lock of their hair or some piece of their clothing in token of their vassalage, for, as Guazzo explains, the fiend is eager to make them his own in every particular, and this gift established a psychic sympathy or copula."

III. — *Later Meanings of the Word* μετάνοια: page 201.

From the original meaning *change of heart, penitence*, the word μετάνοια has developed several derived senses. Ducange gives examples of its common medieval use to mean a penitential prostration, and writes of the great and the lesser *metánoiai*. In this sense it is in common use today. In Crete, and no doubt generally in Greece, it is common, especially in Lent and Holy Week, to see a man making a *metánoia*; he goes down on his knees in the church and bends forward on his hands, touching the ground with his forehead. In a book Τὸ κίβδηλον νόμισμα, The False Coin, printed in 1936, I find several further developments of the meaning, and these are of some interest as being probably very much older; and who can say how old until we have a fresh lexicon of Byzantine Greek? Here are its meanings from passages in this book. With the possessive pronoun it means *monastic calling*: thus on page 18: ἐπανερχόμενος εἰς τὴν μετάνοιαν σας, *Returning to your penitential life as a monk*. And on the same page: νὰ ἐπανέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν ἱεράν των μετάνοιαν, *For them to return to their Holy Penitence*. Sometimes it seems to mean *vocation* to the life of penitence; Thus: Νὰ ὑπακούσω εἰς τὴν φωνὴν της μετανοίας μου, *For me to harken to the voice of my vocation*.

Lastly of a monk it seems to be used as a dignified though slightly pompous personal pronoun, "Your Penitence," instead of plain You; like our Your Grace, Your Eminence, Your Excellency, and so on. Thus on page 8 we have κατὰ τῶν καθεστώτων τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, τῆς Μετανοίας σου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου — *Against the established conditions of the Holy Mountain, against thyself, thy Penitence, and against thy brethren*. This is very much as monks in letters to one another address a friend as Ἡ Ὑμετέρα Ἀγάπη, *Your Lovingness, Your affectionate self*.

In these notes on life on Mount Athos a few words may be allowed on this book, The False Coin, for the light thrown on the domestic troubles which may arise. The full title of the book is Τὸ κίβδηλον νόμισμα, ἤτοι ὁ ἀποκεκηρυγμένος λιβελλογράφος Εὐλόγιος Κουρίλας ὁ Ἀλβανός, 1936 — The False Coin, or Evlogios Kourílas the Albanian Denounced for Libel, 1936. The author is the one-time Greek army doctor Spyridon Kambanéos,

whom I have met several times at the Lavra as the monk Father Athanasios. He wrote it as a retort to another book called Salt without Savour, Μωρὸν Ἅλας, which was written by Father Evlogios Kourílas. Kourílas was an Albanian and afterwards made Bishop of Koritsá. The two men had worked together in an unsuccessful attempt, which brought them both into great disfavor, to bring the Lavra back from the idiorrhythmic to the older coenobitic system, but afterwards they had a quarrel. As too often on Mount Athos, the trouble seems to have had a nationalist origin. Athanasios accused his adversary of presumptuously trying to make the Lavra, the monastery of St. Athanasios and of the emperor John Tzimiskis, an "Albanian Academy." Both of them were men of learning and scholars: Kourílas has written the first volume of a History of Asceticism, and Father Athanasios, a Pilgrim's Guide, Προσκυνητάριον, to Athos, as well as other works.

IV. — *The Miraculous Mist at Khilandari*: page 87.

In The Monks of Athos, I have given the legend that, when a band of Latin pirates was approaching the Servian monastery of Khilandari, a miraculous mist enveloped them and, we may suppose, concealed the monastery. The pirates fell into such confusion that they turned their weapons against one another and the monastery escaped.

This salvation by a miraculous mist is an idea very widely spread. In the days of the Celtic gods the Isle of Man was concealed in this way when danger threatened. In Crete I have heard a somewhat similar story, but not of the local falling of a kindly mist: the story is of a disastrous patch of fine clear weather on a day everywhere else misty. In the insurrection of 1866 the monastery of Arkadi near Retimo was attacked by the Turks. They sacked the buildings, but the Christians who had taken refuge there were saved from being taken captive by the heroic abbot who blew up the powder magazine: the ruins of which are still shown. This is the story of the "rent Arcadion" of Swinburne's Songs before Sunrise, and the story is known everywhere in Crete, and indeed in all Greece. But at Rodakino in Crete I

was told a rather different story which I have never seen in print. It was a misty day when the Turks moved against Arkadi, but they were able to find it because over the monastery there was no mist but it stood in a patch of bright sunshine; the monastery alone was visible. This sunshine was a miracle, it being the will of God that the monastery should be destroyed. "Perhaps," said my informant, "there was some sinner there."

V. — *The Meanings of the Word* εὐλογία: page 329.

In addition to the primary meaning of the word εὐλογία, a blessing, Ducange gives a series of quotations from Byzantine writers illustrating its very usual meaning, the bread used for the Mass. In monastic usage the word has acquired yet further meanings. In my book The Monks of Athos I have noted that at the Pantokrator monastery I was asked to make a small offering at the shrine in which the Geróndissa icon is kept; this was to be διὰ εὐλογίαν. Here one may remember the passage in 2 Kings, V, 15, where Naaman begs Elisha to take a blessing of him: Λάβε τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ τὸν δοῦλον σου. Along these lines the word has come to mean an offering, an alms; almost becoming a decorous ecclesiastical word for a tip.

The meaning of the word has had other developments. The archimandrite Ktenas uses the word often, and the meaning seems always to be a payment made of grace and not of precise obligation, the amount not being in any way fixed; one might say something over and above the bargain given "for luck." For example, Ktenas prints an 1860 contract by which a *kellí* is rented from the monastery of Stavronikita; the senior of the three lessees made a payment of a hundred piastres for a blessing, χάριν εὐλογίας, and this sum was over and above the fixed annual rental.[1]

In monastic life the word also means the food and drink distributed to the several monks by the abbot as their allowance. The much bullied monk in the satirical poem of the twelfth century which has come down to us under the name of Prodromos, tells us that if ever he is ill and goes to the bath, though once a year only, his superiors make it an excuse to cut off the wine

[1] Ktenas, Ἅπαντα ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει ἱερὰ καθιδρύματα, page 697.

which he has as an eulogia: *Ἅπαξ τὸν χρόνον ἂν λουστῶ πολλάκις δι' ἀρρωστίαν, καυκὶν κρασὶν οὐ δίδουν με τὸ λέγουν εὐλογίαν.* With this one may compare a passage in Barlaam and Ioasaph (Loeb edition, page 260). The hermit Barlaam says: Should any of the faithful brethren in the neighborhood bring a dole of bread (*ἄρτον εὐλογίαν*), we receive it as sent by providence and bless the faith that brought it (*ἐπ' εὐλογία, τῶν πιστῶς ἐνενεγκόντων*).

In common Greek the word *εὐλογία*, with its demotic pronunciation *vloyá*, *βλογιά*, has yet another meaning: it is used as a euphemistic term from smallpox, and this goes back at least to the seventh century, as we may see from Politis, *Λαογραφικὰ σύμμεικτα*, I, page 70.

VI. — *The State of Learning on Mount Athos.*

The libraries of the Athos monasteries have now all been catalogued. The first to appear was the two volume catalogue by Lambros published at Cambridge (England) in 1900: this contains all the libraries except those of Vatopedi and the Lavra; these the monks undertook to compile themselves. Accordingly in 1924 Harvard Theological Studies, XI, presented a catalogue of the Vatopedi library by the monks Sophronios and Arkadios; in 1925, No. XII, of the same series was a catalogue of the library of the Great Lavra by the monk Spyridon and the same Sophronios; and finally at Paris in 1934 Sophronios published a supplementary volume to the Vatopedi catalogue.

Besides careful descriptions of the manuscripts these catalogues contain numerous personal notes by the scribes and further jottings by later hands, and from these entries much information on the life of Athos may be derived. In particular they cast a good deal of light on the state of learning in the monasteries, especially in more recent centuries.

The monks of Mount Athos have often been accused of ignorance, but before seeing what real evidence there is of this, it is well to observe that the ideal of the order of St. Basil has always been the contemplative life rather than the life of learning; to this contemplative ideal everything stands as subordinate. And for this ideal a knowledge of Greek orthography is a matter of very secondary importance, and it is therefore hardly worth while

to collect examples of often grotesque misspellings in the manuscripts. That these difficulties were often felt and such errors corrected we may see from a note in a Koutloumousi manuscript of the twelfth century: this is a copy of the orations of St. John Chrysostom, and the note is written by the scribe, who found much in his original to correct. I give a summary of what he writes:

"I observed that the book had a thousand mistakes in breathings, accents, consonants and syllables; especially ν was written where it ought not to be. This I erased. Of the other errors I corrected some, not having any copy to guide me, but being ignorant and rustic I could set right only a few out of many blunders. Let readers therefore pray for the man who wrote the book, whose name God knows — I do not — and for me the sinner Niphon, who corrected the book, that we may win the salvation of our souls. From the writing I perceived that the scribe was the same who wrote another book on ethics, and this too I corrected and put in right order some leaves missplaced by the binder. In it also I found some errors introduced by way of correction, especially by a man who used green ink. And may the Lord be propitious to all of us in the day of judgement for all that through ignorance we have done or written: Amen, amen, amen; So be it, so be it."

This is not the place for a disquisition on the dialects of Modern Greek but I may note that the letter ν is in the common pronunciation best preserved and constantly introduced where it has no historical place in the dialects of the islands; it is likely that the original scribe was an islander rather than from the mainland of Greece.

There are, however, a few entries which do show us that there have been monks so ignorant that they could not even join in all the services of the church. Thus to the Lavra MS. No. 1517, which is a Life of St. Athanasios, we have a note appended: "This life of our holy and inspired father Athanasios being written in the simple language is suitable to be read in his church at the time when in the sacristy the ascetics are holding a watch service." In other words, the simpler monks were not compelled to listen to a service they could not follow, but assembled in the chapel dedicated to the saint and listened to this edifying book written in common Greek. One is reminded of the number of books printed

at Venice in the simple language for the use of the more ignorant monks, *πρὸς χρῆσιν τῶν ἀμαθεττέρων μοναχῶν.*

Again at Iviron there is a fifteenth century MS, No. 4520,1, which is an "Instruction on the ascetic Sequence," *κατήχησις περὶ τῆς ἀσκητικῆς ἀκολουθίας*, and at the beginning is the note: Those who do not know the psalter by heart when the ascetic sequence is being said must repeat instead of the psalms the prayer of the publican, which of course runs: "God be merciful to me a sinner." This substitution seems to have been known elsewhere. In the Library of St. Mark at Venice there is a Veneto-Cretan manuscript in Latin characters of the apocryphal Apocalypse of the Virgin, and in a continuation to the usual text we read of an angel instructing a monk on the fate of the soul after death.[2] The monk asked the angel what is the most effective prayer. The angel said, "for a man of letters the Psalms of David, but a simple man might say: *Chirie Ijsu Christe, ijge chie logie tu Theu tu sondos dhia tin Theotocon eleison me ton amartolon*," which in Greek letters runs: *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὑγιὲ καὶ Λόγε τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ Ζῶντος διὰ τῆν Θεοτόκον ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἁμαρτωλόν.*

A last example I find in a seventeenth century manuscript at Roussiko, No. 6358. This book, Lambros says, has the shape of a Psalter, with the headings and title proper to a psalter, but all that is actually written is the prayer: "O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me," and this is written out as many times as there are verses in a complete psalter. But how and why such a book came to be written it is not easy to say: it might conceivably have been a penance, or perhaps to give some troublesome nitwit something to do to keep him quiet: who can say?

It would be easy to lay too much stress on the evidential value of such cases. They of course show that there certainly were some monks who could not read, but they seem to me to point to a kindly regard for the weakness of some of the simpler brethren rather than to any general condition of illiteracy.

It is well known that a great part in the preparation of the Greek people for the War of Independence was played by many

[2] On this manuscript I wrote in the Byz. Zeitschrift, XXX, 300, and the full text, transcribed into Greek characters, appeared in *Κρητικὰ χρονικά*, II, 487.

schools founded at that time: there was a great school on Patmos; another of which the ruins are still to be seen on the Island of Siphnos, and on Athos there was a school, of which the master was the famous Voulgaris, built quite near to the monastery of Vatopedi. These schools are likely to have had some effect in raising the intellectual level of Athos as well as of the rest of Greece, though the end of the Vatopedi school was sad. Troubles and scandals arose; the school was closed, and finally at some time the buildings were burned down: the melancholy ruins are still to be seen on high ground near the monastery.

Of what a learned and intellectually ambitious abbot thought his monks ought to read we have very good evidence in a large manuscript of 1360 leaves at Dionysiou, No. 3758, written by the sixteenth century Abbot Clemens: it casts a flood of light on the subject.

The manuscript we have is the second of two volumes of which the first is missing, but the extant book contains a table of what its contents were: liturgical texts, the collections of a monk called Mark on doubtful points in the monastic rule, a book of prayers, and at the end a *nomokanon*, for the use of confessors. We have Clemens's main dates. He was made a priest in 1533 and he must have started writing at once, for he wrote his first volume before 1542, the year in which he was elected for the first of his two terms as abbot. It was perhaps when he ceased for the time to be abbot and so had more leisure, that he wrote his second volume which he had bound in 1552. In 1560 he was made abbot for the second time and he took the opportunity to do what he had very likely long wanted to do: he had his book, the first volume, bound more to his taste; he had not liked the earlier binding. Then he tells us why he wrote down all these details which he clearly felt to be important: it was that the monks might know these dates authoritatively, because he observed that on such matters monks are wont to quarrel. For the same reason he made a special note about a fire in the monastery, that it was in 1540. "Take note of the burning of the monastery, because on this matter opinions will differ and some will think to pick a quarrel about it, some saying that it was in this year and some in that. And so you are all to know the truth, that the fire was on

Sunday October the 25th in the year 7048," by our reckoning 1540 A.D. This abbot understood human nature pretty well.

The list of contents which Clemens gives for his second volume corresponds fairly accurately with what is actually in the book. The first volume had been devotional; this second one contains what the abbot thought a monk should know, He leads off with 38 pages taken from Symeon of Thessalonika, a fifteenth century theologian, devoted, Krumbacher says, to the interpretation of ecclesiastical tradition. Then follow Questions and Answers by Anastasios of Sinai; then the "Book of Antiokhos of the Monastery of St. Savvas in Palestine," which, I gather from Krumbacher, is an epitome of scripture. Then come apophthegms collected from various sources, commentaries on the gospels and on the Pauline epistles and a lexicon of hard words. Then comes The Dogmatic Panoply of Euthynios Zigavinos, a work of the time of the Comneni directed against heretics of all kinds; then works on the Seven Synods and on theology; then works on astronomy and medicine, and the Heximeron of Michael Glykas, a treatise on the Six Days of Creation. Then he gives a chronicle from the creation of the world to the fall of Constantinople, and lastly an epitome of the books of the Old Testament from Genesis to Maccabees. The volume thus contains courses in theology, in natural science, and in history, sacred and profane, just as in the first volume Clemens had given what he felt was needed for the devotional life of the monk and for the services of the church. All through he is writing as a teacher solicitous alike for the religious and for the intellectual good of his disciples.

It is interesting to summarize the preface which Clemens wrote for his second volume, for in it he gives his views of the task he had set himself. Passing, he says, like a bee from book to book, he made this collection, hoping not only to assist the zeal of the studious but to stimulate the ignorant and idle. Many good books he saw despised, neglected and even left to be eaten by worms. Like a good cook tempting the appetite he made this collection so that if a man does not like one thing he can try another. He then goes on:

"So I made my collection enduring both the heavy toil and the murmurings of the brethren. And why did they complain? I will tell you. As soon as my work

was over, I would sit down to write, and for this they murmured saying that I ought to have been devoting myself to the work of the monastery. But for the sake of the reward promised by God, I was deaf to their abuse. The work I did was spiritual and for the sake of those who should come after, and of all work pleasing to God the devil is jealous. But I never listened to them, and to get to the end of my task, I neglected even the services of the church. And believe me, my brethren, for these reasons I write even more by night than by day. And the envy of the devil did not work so much against this book as against the other (i.e., his first volume). For I wrote that other collection before they made me abbot for the first time when I was a simple priest, and it has in it all the services which a good priest and monk needs for the whole year. Yet the envious devil, as you all clearly know, is ever hindering works pleasing to God and stirring to envy and jealousy the careless and ignorant and contemptuous, to the intent that scandal may be brought upon good and salutary work. And so I pray from my heart you who are industrious and love learning, to recognize my toil and labour, and all you who take this book into your hands, remember me for this little labour and make memorial to God, for He loves man, of me the humble Clemens the priest, that by your holy prayers I may be pardoned for my many sins and found worthy of His kingdom, by the prayers and intercessions of the most holy Mother of God and of the honoured Forerunner and of all the saints; Amen."

Clemens is not the only learned monk who has felt not altogether at home on the Holy Mountain, and a man in a less powerful position than an abbot might have had very much more to complain of. There is a pathetic note in a fourteenth century composite manuscirpt from Iviron, No. 4803, of sermons and orations and lives of the saints. The scribe seems to have been a scholar, and at the end of the manuscript he has put a note:

"The present book belongs to me who am a sinner, the monk Theophilos, who wrote the other books also. And now that I am driven out from the monastery I dedicate this as a farewell gift to thee, my Lady, Queen of all and Mother of God, Virgin of the Gate in the venerable monastery of the Iberians. And pardon me, O my Lady, for it is against my will that I go forth, sickened and oppressed by murmurings and scandals. For twelve years I have striven with all my might, with toil of all sorts and with the service and work of my hands, ministering to those who serve thee here in the monastery, but all in vain. So despairing of them I go forth, not knowing whither I am going, now an old man and weak and in body most decrepid. But in my heart I judged thus: better is it that I should wander about from place to place and suffer ill treatment and the censure of strangers rather than that these men here should make complaints against me and live in dissension, one party against another. And so I pray you, my Lady, first get them to live in peace and make them of one mind and bring scandals to an end, and then by their holy prayers do thou take thought for me and guide me and preserve me unharmed from all disaster to body or soul, and in the end from thy flock and from thy fold do not drive me away. And in the hour of death protect me and deliver me from the hell's terrible demons, for blessed art thou for ever and ever, Amen. If anyone alienates this book from the monastery of Iviron may he have always against him the Mother of God: Amen.

Such troubles must always have arisen and they have not been unknown in recent years. In the enclosed life of a monastery men

of opposing temperaments must inevitably clash, and the scholar must always have been to some extent an object of suspicion and jealousy to the ignorant, and to the idle and easy going an uncomfortable reminder of their own shortcomings. Yet there must always have been men like the Abbot Clemens. We may think too of the pathetic note to a Sermon on the Dormition of the Virgin, a manuscript of 1694 at Dokheiariou, No. 762, 9. In two iambic lines the scribe has written: "Never can I have enough of writing, but for all that my senses are weakening." *Κόρον οὐκ ἔχω ἀείποτε τοῦ γράφειν, Ἀλλ' αἱ αἰσθήσεις ἀδυνατοῦσιν ὅμως.* Though it must be admitted that the more commonly expressed feeling of the scribe is delight at reaching the end of a wearisome task.

Of the feeling of the futility of all worldly knowledge, the kind of intellectual puritanism of the very pious, a sincere abhorrence of wordly learning, we have a curious example in a note in the intentionally mutilated MS. No. 4613 at Iviron. The Table of Contents tells us that it contained an account of the death of Sultan Ibrahim and the reign of Mechmet IV, 1648–1687, and also a "War of the Morea," that is an account of the seventeenth century campaign of Morosini. Both these items, with the exception of a few lines of the War of the Morea, have been cut away, with the note: "In this book there was information about kings and wars, and so, moved by godly zeal, I cut out those writings and burned them, astonished at the ignorance of the scribe, mixing profane matters with divine." A more liberal minded man later made another note: "May cold weather be yours, O most impious of men!" *Τὸν ψυχρόν σου τὸν καιρόν ἀσεβέστατε τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, and on the stub of the cut out leaves is written: "Oh, the folly and ignorance of the thrice accursed fellow!" — *Τοῦ τρισαθλίου.* Each side was at least roused from that indifference to such matters which must always have been the weakness of the Athonic life.

AN EARLY PAPYRUS OF THE FIRST GOSPEL

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I am indebted to Mr. Neil Ker for first drawing my attention to the presence of these small papyrus fragments in the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, to the Librarian, Dr. C. T. Onions, for enabling me to study them, and to the President and Fellows of the College for permitting their publication.

The fragments were purchased by the Reverend Charles B. Huleatt in Luxor in 1901 and presented by him to his old College through the then Librarian, the Reverend H. A. Wilson. It is probable that there were further fragments of the same leaf since a letter by Mr. Huleatt to the Librarian refers to purchases of fragments from the same manuscript in successive years, but nothing beyond what is published below is now extant in the Library. The fragments were correctly identified by their purchaser, and assigned by him to the third century A.D.; a note in the Librarian's report for 1901 reads: "Mr. Huleatt supposes them to be of the third century; but Dr. Hunt who recently examined the fragments thinks they may be assigned with more probability to the fourth century."

Only the belief that Hunt's dating in 1901 was substantially incorrect would excuse a detailed study of such minute fragments; but before attempting to justify this position it would be as well to describe briefly the fragments in question. There survive three pieces from the same leaf of a codex: frag. (a) 4.1 × 1.2 cm., frag. (b) 1.6 × 1.6 cm., and frag. (c) 4.1 × 1.3 cm. As there are two columns to a page and as verso precedes recto it follows that on the recto frag. (c) precedes frag. (a) and (b). There were 15–16 letters to a line and approximately 35–36 lines to a column; the area of writing on the page would have measured roughly 10.5 × 16.8 cm.; the proportions of the complete page would probably have been much the same. The double column

format is noteworthy since, contrary to common opinion, in the earliest codices the single column format is much more common [1]; it may be significant that in early Christian codices (i.e. those assigned to the second century or to the borderline between second and third centuries) the only examples hitherto known of the double column format have been those of books of the Old Testament. To contain the entire Gospel of St. Matthew the book must have run to about 150 pages; we may conclude that in all probability it contained nothing else. As verso precedes recto in the second half of the Gospel it is almost certain that this was not a single quire codex. *Nomina sacra* occur on the recto, vv. 23 and 31; in neither passage is the line over the suspension now visible but there is no reason to think that it was omitted. Of some interest is the projection into the left margin of the initial letter of αυτοις in v. 31; this line is the first complete line of what is a new section of the text (beginning with τότε in the preceding line) both in Codex Bezae and Codex Alexandrinus (the latter reads καί in place of τότε) which mark it in the same way as does the papyrus; the Vaticanus leaves a space before τότε. This system of division can now be carried back a couple of centuries if our dating of the papyrus is correct.[2]

To this we must now turn. It has been recognized for some time that Grenfell and Hunt were unduly conservative in their dating of some early Christian papyri,[3] largely because they accepted the assumption common to palaeographers of the last century that a manuscript written in a codex could not be earlier than the third century.[4] A clear case of the operation of this prejudice in the case of a classical text may be seen (as M. Mallon has pointed out) [5] in their introduction to P.Oxy. I, 35,

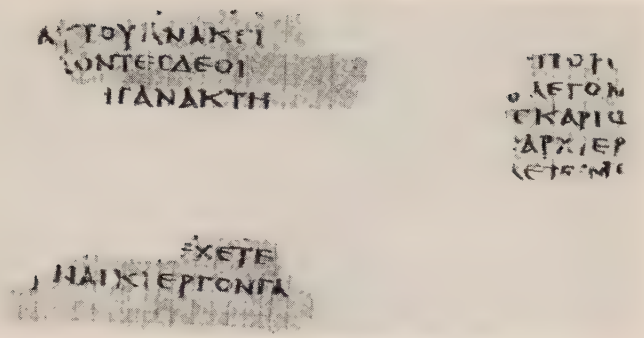
[1] See C. H. Roberts, The Christian Book and the Greek Papyri in Journal of Theological Studies, L(1949), pp. 162–3. (In l. 4 of p. 163 for 'fifth century' read 'third century').

[2] A Eusebian section also begins at this point.

[3] See H. I. Bell — T. C. Skeat, Fragments of an Unknown Gospel, p. 6 and H. I. Bell in Harvard Theological Review, XXXVII (1944), p. 201.

[4] An exception is the first of the Oxyrhynchus Logia (P.Oxy. I, 1) for which they were prepared to envisage a date c. A.D. 200.

[5] See H. Mallon in Emerita, XVII (1949), pp. 1–8. M. Mallon gives reasons for dating the fragment to the late first or early second century.



the Fragmentum de Bellis Macedonicis where, after giving an objective summary of the palaeographical evidence which points to a second century date, they plump for the late third or fourth century largely because the book was a codex. Where this factor is not present their palaeographical judgment was unimpeded; thus they assigned P.Oxy. III, 405, a Christian text written on a roll and unidentified at the time of publication to the end of the second or early third century; it was later identified as belonging to the lost Greek text of Irenaeus Adversus Haereses [6] and the manuscript therefore cannot be earlier than the very end of the second century. And it should be remembered that when Hunt saw the papyrus in 1901 relatively few Biblical papyri had been published and the development of Greek palaeography was less clear than it has since become, thanks in large part to his work.

In its strong and firm lines and in spite of certain angularities the hand of the papyrus may be regarded as an early predecessor of the so-called "Biblical Uncial," a hand "whose peculiar style began to form towards the end of the second century." [7] If we compare the style of the fragments with that of the earliest example of Biblical Uncial that Schubart adduces, a papyrus of Homer which he assigns to the third century,[8] we can see at once that the Magdalen fragments are by comparison less uniform and regular and are demonstrably earlier. The closest parallel I have been able to find is the Oxyrhynchus Symposium (V, 843), a hand classified by Schubart as one of the predecessors of Biblical Uncial and which (in the opinion of Grenfell and Hunt) "probably dates from about the year 200 A.D."; but the Plato hand is slightly slanting and has the flat ω common in third century hands. Two other hands with which it may be compared are P.Oxy. XIII, 1620 (dated second to third century) in which α, ϵ, and υ are similar though ω is again different and P.Oxy. XV, 1819, in which α and υ are similar, μ different and the hand in general is lighter

[6] The identification is recorded in P.Oxy. IV, p. 264. For a comment on the significance of this fragment see a forthcoming article of mine in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 40 (1954).

[7] W. Schubart, Griechische Paläographie, p. 136.

[8] Id., abb. 93.

and freer; [9] this papyrus is placed by Grenfell and Hunt in the second century. Similar letter shapes may be observed in the fragment of Irenaeus mentioned above; both in this and in the Mag-

[9] Facsimile in New Palaeographical Society, II, 1, 76.

VERSO

Col. i		Col. ii	
(a)		(c)	
[επ]ι̣ [της] κ̣ε̣ xxvi	7	τοτ]ε πορε[υθεις	14
[φαλης] αυτου ανακει		ι]β [ο] λεγομ[ενος	
[μενου ι]δοντες δε οι		]ι̣σκαριω[της	
[μαθηται] ηγανακτη		του]ς αρχιερ[εις	
. . . . .		θε]λετε μο[ι	15
. . . . .		. . . . .	
(b) [α]υ̣[τοις τι]	10		
[κοπο]υ̣[ς πα]ρεχετε [τη]			
[γ]υναικι εργον γα[ρ]			

RECTO

Col. i		Col. ii	
. . . . .			
(c) αυ]τω· μ[ητι xxvi	22	(a)	
]κ̣ε̣· ο̣ δε̣ [	23	αυτοις ο ιη̣ π̣αν[τες	31
]ε̣ιπεν ο ε̣[μβαψας		σκανδα̣[λισθησεσθε	
με]τ̣ εμ̣ου τ̣[ην		εν εμοι εν τ[η νυκτι	
τ]ω̣ τ̣ρυ̣[βλιω		ταυτη γε̣γ̣[ραπται	
		. . . . .	
		(b)	
		γαλεγλαιαν α[ποκρι]	32, 33
		θεις δε ο̣ πετρος ε[ιπεν]	

NOTES

10. γαρ om. Ta[3] S[c] 1s 543 1573 lat. pl. syspi ar bo.

14. For another early instance of writing the numerical symbol in place of the word, see the Chester Beatty papyrus of Luke X 17 (where the true reading, as evidenced by the photograph and confirmed on the original), is οι ō̄s̄, not, as Kenyon gives οι οβ. σκαριωτης Ta [1n] D lat syspi ar gg.

22. The papyrus must have read λεγειν εις εκαστος αυτω, an order which is unique since all other MSS place αυτω after λεγειν except Ta[1] $P^{37,45}$ D Θ s 13[r] 1424[s] 1604 lat sys gg bo which omit it altogether. The majority of MSS add αυτω after εκαστος; P. Magd. agrees with Ta[a1n] B 892 372 lat sa in omitting it; the reading may have been occasioned by the uncertain position of αυτω.

dalen fragments the minute omikron and the flat omega, common in third century hands, are absent.

I had concluded that the date assigned to the fragments by Hunt half a century ago was markedly too late and that even Huleatt's dating was too conservative when I showed a photograph of the papyrus to Sir Harold Bell, Mr. T. C. Skeat, and Professor Turner. They independently and without hesitation pronounced in favor of a date in the later second century; their verdict can, I think, be accepted with confidence.

I have collated the text with the edition of A. Merk, Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine (fifth ed.). The papyrus contributes one unique reading in v. 22, apart from an obvious error in v. 32; it is noteworthy that here and in one other reading in this verse its text diverges from that of two other papyri, P^{37} and P^{45}.

MILITARY CHAPLAINS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

Between 456 and 466, we are told by Cyril of Scythopolis (Vita S. Sabae, 9), S. Saba, sent on a mission from Palestine to Alexandria, was surprised to meet his father John, from whom he had been parted at the age of five in 444. In that year John had been conscripted and drafted into the *numerus Isaurorum* at Alexandria; now, under the name of Conon, he had risen to command of the unit. He was overjoyed at being reunited to his son, and suggested that he στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πρεσβύτερον τοῦ νουμέρου γενέσθαι.

Eduard Schwartz on p. 307 of his edition of Cyril of Scythopolis suggests that πρεσβύτερος in this phrase is the Greek equivalent of *senator*, the military grade immediately below that of *primicerius* and therefore ranking third after the tribune (Jerome, contra Ioh. Hierosol., 19). This interpretation seems improbable. In the first place, prevalent though graft was in the Roman army of the fifth century, it would even then have been outrageous for a commanding officer to promote a new recruit to so high a grade. Secondly πρεσβύτερος is not a translation of *senator*, which is, in fact, never translated, but transliterated into Greek as σινάτωρ (Grosse, Romische Militärgeschichte, p. 120[4]); and Cyril is no purist, but habitually transliterates Latin words. Thirdly πρεσβύτερος had by this time a technical meaning: it meant priest.

Πρεσβύτερος τοῦ νουμέρου should then naturally mean "chaplain of the unit." That such an institution existed is proved by a contemporary letter of Theodoret (No. 2 in the collection published by John Sakellion, Athens, 1885), recommending the bearer to Eusebius, bishop of Ancyra. "The promise of our God and Saviour is true" he writes, "for he promised that the teaching of God's word should be diffused over all the world, and the facts cry out, bearing witness to this saying. For the foster sons of piety and those deemed worthy of the priesthood direct not only provinces, cities, villages, estates and farms; but the regiments of soldiers stationed in cities and villages themselves too have consecrated shepherds (ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ τάγματα ἐν πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις διάγοντα ἀφιερωμένους ἔχει νομέας). Among these is the discreet deacon Agapetus, who claims as his city the metropolis of our province, and has been appointed to guide a military regiment in things divine (στρατιωτικὸν δὲ τάγμα ἐτάχθη πρὸς τὰ θεῖα ῥυθμίζειν). That is why he has started for Thrace; for his unit happens to be stationed there (ἐκεῖ γὰρ τούτου συμβαίνει διάγειν τὸν ἀριθμόν)."

Both these references date to the middle of the fifth century and I

know of no earlier allusion.[1] Sozomen (I.8) indeed alleges that the institution dates from Constantine; ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τάγματα ἃ νῦν ἀριθμοὺς καλοῦσιν ἕκαστον ἰδίαν σκηνὴν κατεσκευάσατο καὶ ἱερέας καὶ διακόνους ἀπονενεμημένους ἔχειν. But this passage appears to be an embroidery upon Eusebius' description of the tent equipped as a chapel, which Constantine had made for his personal devotions when on campaign. Of the army in general Eusebius in the same passage (Vita Const., IV, 18–9) records only that he gave Christian soldiers time off to attend Sunday services, and compelled the rest to attend a parade at which a non-denominational monotheistic prayer was recited. Theodoret's rather ecstatic language might be taken to imply that the institution of military chaplains was a novelty in his day, were it not that such rhetoric was a regular feature of the epistolary art.

A century later Roman regiments still had their chaplains. Pope Pelagius I (555–60) writes to Laurentius, bishop of Centumcellae (Migne, P.G., LXIX, 416): "Principali (sic) devotissimorum militum qui illic in civitate Centumcellensi consistunt, relatione ad nos directa sacram se insinuant clementissimi principis impetrasse quae eis presbyterum diaconum et subdiaconum fieri debere praecepit." From this it would appear that regimental chaplains were not universal, but a privilege granted by special imperial order.

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[1] Professor Nock has called my attention to Wilcken, Chr. I. 6, a petition to Theodosius II and Valentinian III (425–450) Παρὰ Ἀππίωνος ἐπισκόπου λεγεῶνος Συήνης καὶ Κενῆς [Συή]νης καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης; but Appion appears rather to be bishop of the garrison town than of the unit.

THE CROWN OF ACANTHUS (?)

The study on the "crown of thorns" by H. St.J. Hart [1] has presented a large body of interesting material, with elaborate documentation from previous studies, to show that the crown was made from the long spikes that grow on the base of the *rachis*, or axis, of the date palm frond. He has illustrated many such crowns from pagan coins, and pointed out that the long spikes were used to represent the radiations which were common for the crown of, primarily, Helios. He concludes that the crown made for Jesus was not one of torture but of mockery, to go with the other appurtenances of royalty put on Jesus by the soldiers. To this Bonner [2] has published an additional note which, quoting from Apuleius, attests the use of such a crown at Lucius' initiation into the mysteries of Isis.

The crown is in Mark (15,17) a woven *ἀκάνθινον στέφανον*, but in Matthew (27,29) and John (19,2–5) a *στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν*. Both Hart and Bonner, and all tradition for centuries, have understood Mark's *ἀκάνθινος* in its usual sense, as adjectival from *ἄκανθα*, a word which should ordinarily be translated "thorny plant." Similarly the *ἀκανθῶν* of Matthew and John has been thus accented in all editions to indicate that it is the genitive plural of *ἄκανθα*, with the same meaning. The adjective could, however, have been intended to refer to *ἄκανθος*, "acanthus plant," and the pronunciation of the noun may have originally been *ἀκάνθων*, and the noun have meant "of acanthus leaves."

It is dubious, however, that in popular speech the two words were sharply distinguished. In Dioscurides [3] the acanthus plant is discussed, with the manuscripts quite divided as to whether to call it *ἄκανθος* or *ἄκανθα*, while in pseudo Dioscurides [4] the *acanthus mollis* is definitely *ἄκανθα*, and *ἄκανθος* is specifically *ἄκανθος ἀγρία*, equated with the Latin *spina agrestis*, the *acanthus spinosus*. Matthew and John may well, then, have had *ἄκανθα* in mind as the singular of their *ἀκανθῶν*, but meant by it *acanthus mollis*, and the shift in pronunciation from *ἀκάνθων* to *ἀκανθῶν* may never have been necessary. The word from the beginning, as *ἄκανθῶν*, may have been intended to refer to *acanthus mollis*. This, we suspect, was the case.

For there are two basic forms of acanthus, the *acanthus spinosus*, which has thorny leaves, and the more common *acanthus mollis* with "large, deeply cut, hairy, shining, leaves." [5] It is the latter variety

[1] Jour. Theol. Stud., N.S. 3 (1952), 68–75.
[2] Harv. Theol. Rev., 46 (1953), 47f.
[3] III, 17; ed. Wellmann, II, 23f.
[4] Wellmann, loc. cit.
[5] Enc. Brit., 14th ed., s.v. acanthus.

which was usually used on Corinthian capitals, and very widely as a religious symbol. It was especially popular as a substitute for, or identified with, the vine on Palestinian tombs of the time of Jesus, where its leaves could be strung along into what one is forced to call an acanthus vine,[6] or used to form the cup from which such vines, or proper grape vines, grow.[7] In synagogue ornament of two centuries after the death of Jesus, Jews commonly represented wreaths (i.e., crowns) made out of various sprays of leaves as a sanctifying device to frame a sacred symbol within it.[8] On the synagogues of Capernaum [9] and Chorazin [10] the most usual form of these wreaths was of woven acanthus leaves, the acanthus without thorns. On ossuaries of approximately the time of Jesus the acanthus, as a cup, is indisputable in one instance,[11] and it is a good guess that its leaves form the wreaths shown on others, though as carved on ossuaries one can never say with conviction whether woven acanthus, olive, or laurel, is being shown.[12]

Accordingly, although there seem to be no other literary references to crowns of acanthus, the use of *acanthus mollis* as a general symbol, and specifically as a crown, is well attested for Palestine. So we suppose that Mark meant "acanthus crown," and that Matthew and John meant "crown of acanthi" or "of acanthus leaves." The general conclusion of Hart and Bonner still stands, that the crown was by no means an instrument of torture, but was part of the regalia put on Jesus. We differ from them only in believing that soft acanthus leaves, and not thorns at all, were what the Roman soldiers used. The misunderstanding was very early, presumably, because ἀκάνθινος was, of course, commonly the adjective of ἄκανθα, in the sense of thorny plant, and would in this way have generally been understood; and because the crown of acanthus was primarily a Palestinian phenomenon, perhaps unknown, or little known, elsewhere. But this localism makes acanthus none the less relevant for the crown put upon Jesus in Jerusalem.

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[6] See Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, 1953, III, fig. 23. Cf. the sarcophagi in figs. 238f.

[7] Ibid., fig. 21. For other usages on tombs see figs. 30, 31, 37.

[8] Ibid., e.g., figs. 448, 464f., 467f., 490, 496f., 510, 518, 556, 571, 574, 584, 590, 592, 619f., 622, 629.

[9] Ibid., figs. 472–4.

[10] Ibid., figs. 491, 493–5, 497, 500. For the general use of acanthus on synagogues see ibid., Index 1, s.v. acanthus.

[11] Ibid., fig. 156; cf. figs. 143, 163, 202, 208.

[12] It is quite clear on the sarcophagus of ibid., fig. 248.

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